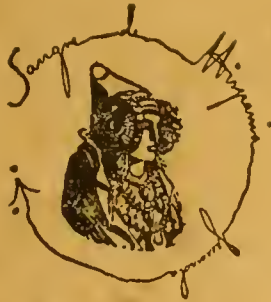


DELOS L. CANFIELD

SPANISH LITERATURE IN MEXICAN
LANGUAGES
AS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF
SPANISH PRONUNCIATION



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IN
MEXICAN LANGUAGES

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BY
DELOS LINCOLN CANFIELD, PH.D.



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TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

The idea of examining the orthography of material on Indian languages of Mexico for a study of developments in Spanish pronunciation was suggested by contact with Mexican geographical terms of Indian origin, combined with a deep interest in Spanish philology. Although the study was first undertaken from a purely linguistic viewpoint, it was later thought expedient to include bio-bibliographical notes on the Spanish literature in Mexican languages.

Investigation showed that a large part of the works on Indian languages of Mexico, many of them now quite rare, is to be found in the libraries of Mexico and the United States. Material was collected from the library of the Museo Nacional of Mexico, the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico, the García Library of the University of Texas, the library of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the New York Public Library, the Library of the Hispanic Society, the British Museum; and an exceptionally fine collection was found in the John Carter Brown Library.

I should like to express my sincere appreciation for the courtesies and facilities extended by the staffs of the above libraries.

Grateful recognition is due to friends in Mexico of Indian speech, and especially to Professor Porfirio

Aguirre of the Museo Nacional and to the faculty and students of the Casa del Estudiante Indígena.

Many thanks go to Mr. G. M. Patison of the Patison Tours to Mexico for time conceded while in his employ for work with informants of Indian speech.

At Columbia University I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Franz Boas for helpful suggestions and for information concerning the phonology of certain Indian languages; and to Professor Ángel del Río for important aid in the preparation of the form of the dissertation.

Finally, I wish to extend most heartfelt thanks to Professor Federico de Onís, under whose personal guidance this work was undertaken, for his encouragement and never-failing inspiration.

D. L. C.

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INTRODUCTION

A large part of Spanish literature written in New Spain during the sixteenth century consists of works on the Indian languages of the territory that was settled and Christianized by the Spaniards. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this type of literature continued to form an important element of the writings emanating from the presses at Mexico City. Though much of the later material of the Colonial Period was written by men of American birth, it is nevertheless a part of Spanish literature.

An examination of Spanish writings in the Indian tongues of Mexico reveals that it is made up principally of two types of works: grammatical or lexicographical, and religious. The grammars, usually termed *artes*, have been quite valuable to subsequent Americanists interested in the languages of that section of America, and some of the *vocabularios* of the early Castilian clergymen have never been excelled. Although these writers, who were usually members of the religious orders, tried to fit these strange languages to the unwieldy molds of the classical grammars, they nevertheless compiled important observations and thousands of words which have been the basis for later efforts. Indeed, for centuries their writings were practically copied by native grammarians. The religious works of these Spanish friars were ordinarily translations of the formulas of

the Catholic Christianity of the period, and portray the application of the Christian doctrine among the natives.

The chief value of this literature on the Indian languages of Mexico, from the standpoint of Spanish philology, lies in the fact that the Spanish alphabet was used in the transcription of so many languages of distinct linguistic stocks at a time when Castilian was undergoing changes in its phonetic system.

Several studies have been made of the pronunciation of Old Spanish, and of the developments that occurred in the pronunciation of certain consonants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, regional aspects of which are evident in the Castilian of today. Much of the material presented in these treatises has been reviewed and additional given in a most painstaking and exhaustive work on the subject by Henri Gavel.¹ The main sources of information for these studies have been the testimony of grammarians, the transliteration of foreign languages by means of the Spanish alphabet, or explanations of Spanish sounds in terms of symbols of foreign languages. Thus early Hebrew and Arabic representations of Spanish sounds have been examined for evidence as to how Spanish was pronounced at the time of the transcription. Spanish grammars in English, French, and Italian have been used to ascertain the phonetic values of certain Spanish consonants in terms of letters of those languages. The-

¹ *Essai sur l'Evolution de la Prononciation du Castillan.*

ories have been formed concerning the origin of the differences that exist between the Spanish of Madrid and that of Mexico City, for instance. The matters that seem to have occupied the attention of those dealing with the history of Spanish pronunciation since the XIVth century are the pronunciation of the sibilants *ç, z, s, x, j*; the alternation of *h* and *f* and the loss of *h*; the distinction of *b* and *v*; and the conversion of *ll* to *y* in certain regions.

Throughout the work on Spanish pronunciation an important source of information has been neglected in the writings in, or concerning, the Indian languages of territory settled by the Spaniards in the XVIth century.²

There existed in America at the time of the Spanish Conquest literally hundreds of Indian languages. Investigation has shown that the most densely populated territory was that of present-day Mexico and Central America.³ In this region there are still about thirty distinct linguistic stocks.⁴ The languages of Mexico alone have been classified as pertaining to as many as twenty separate groups. A few

² Consideration has been given to the use of the Spanish alphabet in the writing of one of these languages, Nahuatl, by R. J. Cuervo in his *Disquisiciones*, by Marden (*Phonology of the Spanish Dialect of Mexico City*), and by N. Willey ("C" and "Z" in American Spanish), while the Araucano of Chile has been studied in its early written form by Rudolf Lenz in his *Diccionario etimológico*.

³ Cf. H. J. Spinden, *The Population of Ancient America*, p. 451.

⁴ Cf. C. Thomas, *Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America*.

of these groups of languages occupied large territories and were divided into mutually unintelligible tongues which were in turn divided into well defined dialects. The languages of the Otomí stock, for instance, resemble those of the Nahuatl group perhaps no more than Chinese resembles English. Tarascan is quite different from Huastecan, and Zapotecan and Mayan are apparently not related. Several languages are extinct or in the process of extinction through the use of Spanish; however, it is estimated that nearly 4,000,000 people still speak native languages in Mexico.⁵ Of course, many of this number also speak Spanish.

In giving written form to the languages of America, the Spanish priests who followed the conquistadores sometimes found it necessary to invent symbols to represent pronunciations which they deemed strange to the Spanish sound system. But such symbols were usually accompanied by observations concerning sounds of Spanish to which the Indian phonemes might be compared. Some of the systems of spelling of the first of these fathers became traditional, but later writers, while not always daring to change the letters that their predecessors had used, often objected to certain aspects of the traditional systems, basing their objections on their own pronunciation of Spanish.

A comparison of the phonetic patterns of modern Indian languages of Mexico with the same languages

⁵ Cf. H. J. Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, pp. 31-33.

as represented by the Spanish alphabet throughout the centuries shows that the Indian languages have been remarkably conservative phonetically, and that the *Verkehrsprache*, Spanish, has changed in certain respects since the early part of the XVIth century. It is also immediately evident that during the early period of colonization the language of New Spain in its phonetic features was as much that of Northern Spain as of Southern, but that about 1600 certain distinctive characteristics that had developed in the speech of the region of Seville were also to be found in the Spanish of Mexico.

Information concerning the modern pronunciation of certain of the Indian languages of Mexico has been obtained by the writer in Mexico from natives who speak these languages. Spanish word lists were used in asking the Indian informants for equivalent terms in the native tongues.

Modern studies of these languages have also been consulted. The most accurate accounts are the efforts of anthropologists and Americanists, who represent the Indian languages with definite phonetic symbols. Certain of these studies together with treatises on the classification of the languages will be mentioned in a more appropriate place.

Although it was the original intention to make a study of the literature in Indian languages of Mexico simply with a view of determining something of the speech of those who applied the Spanish alphabet to these strange tongues, it was later thought advisable to include notes on these first Americanists as well as

excerpts from the writings themselves. It is hoped, therefore, that the first part of the following study will serve as a bio-bibliographic introduction to the examination of the use of the Spanish alphabet in the transcription of the Indian languages of Mexico.

No pretense is made for a complete bibliography of material on Indian languages of Mexico, nor is attention given to the codices of Mayan or Mexican hieroglyphics, since we are here primarily concerned with Spanish pronunciation as revealed in the representations of the native tongues.

Much more space has been devoted to the authors and writings on the Mexican language, since most of the prototypes are to be found there.

PART I
SPANISH LITERATURE IN MEXICAN
LANGUAGES

I

THE PRIESTS AND THE INDIAN LANGUAGES

In spite of the general belief that the Spaniards were a ruthless lot of fortune-seekers intent on material gain alone, an examination of the literature of the period of the Conquest reveals the fact that there were other motives. Noteworthy was the zeal displayed by the churchmen, with the backing of the political and military leaders, for the ecclesiastical penetration of New Spain.

Swayed by a crusading spirit brought about by hundreds of years of struggle with the Mohammedan, the Church took a leading part in the adjustment of conditions in the New World. In an atmosphere of religious fanaticism, Cortés and other leaders became agents of the Faith, insisting on the conversion as well as the submission of the Indians.

From the time that Charles the Fifth received news of the discovery of Anahuac he considered himself duty-bound to take charge of the conversion of these newly-discovered infidels. He imparted the news to those closest to him at Ghent, among whom were Juan de Tecto (Van Tacht), Juan de Aora (Aar), and Pedro de Gante (Van den Moere).¹ The

¹ Cf. M. Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, II, p. 158.

three were subsequently sent to New Spain and arrived at Tenochtitlán in May 1523. Pedro de Gante remained at Texcoco during the reconstruction of Mexico, and the other two died while on a military expedition.²

In May of 1524 the famous twelve Franciscans, later known as the *doce apóstoles*, arrived at San Juan de Ulúa. At the head of the group was Martín de Valencia from the province of León. Father Valencia had been given the privilege of choosing eleven men. The others of the group were Francisco de Soto, Martín de la Coruña, Juan Suárez, Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Toribio de Paredes (de Benavente), García de Cisneros, Luis de Fuensalida, Juan de Ribas, Francisco Ximénez, Andrés de Córdoba and Juan de Palos. Other Franciscans followed.

Fray Martín de Valencia with four others remained in Mexico, while others were sent to the cities of Texcoco, Tlaxcala, and Huejotcingo.³ These places became centers of activity for the Franciscans who were to follow, and they were later given control over adjacent territory.

The Dominican Order was ready to send twelve men to New Spain with the twelve Franciscans, but they were ordered to the Isla Española instead. A number of the group finally arrived in Mexico in 1526. Among them were Fray Tomás Ortiz, Vicente de Santa Ana, Diego de Sotomayor, Pedro de

² *ibid*, I, p. 163.

³ Cf. J. Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, p. 216.

Santa María, Gonzalo Lucero, and Domingo de Betanzos. Due to trouble with Cortés, the first mission was a failure, but from 1534 the Dominicans took an active part in the conversion of the peoples of New Spain, especially in Oaxaca and Yucatán.⁴

The third great religious order, that of St. Augustine, established itself in New Spain in 1535. Its main field of action seems to have been south and west of the City, especially in Michoacán. By 1572 it had established 46 monasteries.⁵

Jesuit priests did not appear until 1572, but were immediately active in furthering education in the new land.

From the time of the arrival of the famous twelve, the Church grew in the number of clergy. The natives were drawn from their religions, their idols were destroyed, and their children were gathered into schools. Learned fathers like Pedro de Gante and Toribio de Benavente baptized thousands.

Besides the ecclesiastic divisions within the orders themselves, such as the provincias and their subordinate missions, there were administrative divisions of the Church proper, such as the bishoprics of México, Michoacán, Tlaxcala, and Oaxaca, to which were later added Guatemala and Nueva Galicia.

With the founding of monasteries and the constant erection of churches, and with the aid of miracles, such as the appearance of the Señora de Guadalupe,

⁴ Cf. Cuevas, *Historia*, I, pp. 213-219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 357-364.

the Church was gradually established as a powerful force in New Spain.

C. S. Braden is of the opinion that the similarity of the religion of the Indians of Anahuac and that of the Spaniards tended to alleviate the task of evangelization. He points out, for instance, that the Aztec religion was characterized by burdensome ceremonial pomp and splendor in many cases similar to that of Catholicism of the period. There was a system of priests, there were stories of the virgin birth of Quetzalcoatl, there was baptism, a series of feast days, etc.

In view of these similarities, it was a great deal easier for the Indians to yield to the various forms of external pressure which accompanied the more spiritual efforts to convert them, than if the two faiths had been totally unlike.⁶

It might also be argued that the character of the Mexican, and that of other Indians of Mexico, was favorable to their eventual evangelization. Mendieta speaks of the meekness of the race:

La causa de su natural mansedumbre es falta de cólera y abundancia de flegma, y a esta causa padecen harto con nuestros españoles, que como somos coléricos . . .⁷

Certainly, however, it was only through assiduous and faithful preaching of the early priests that the goal was attained.

The educational efforts of the clergy were seconded by the viceroys. Several schools for Indians

⁶ *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico*, p. 75.

⁷ *Historia*, p. 438.

were founded, notable among them that of Santa Cruz at the monastery of Santiago Tlatelolco, inaugurated in 1536 under the viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza. The professors for these schools were chosen from the *Frailes Menores*, and it is thought that they taught the natives Latin, rather than Spanish, and that Nahuatl was used by those of the teachers who had learned the language.⁸ Bishop Zumárraga reports the difficulty of the situation:

Habiendo platicado los obispos cerca desta materia venimos en esta sentencia, que no se podía hallar al presente otro medio mejor, que enseñar a estos, lengua latina, en que nos pudiésemos entender, pues nosotros, especialmente yo en mi vejez, no puedo aprender la suya.⁹

It was this contact of professor and student that gave the priests the opportunity of learning Mexican. Many of those engaged in teaching the sons of Indian nobles at Santiago Tlatelolco later turned out work on the Nahuatl language.

A letter from Pedro de Gante to Philip II in 1558 gives an idea of the conditions in the early days:

Mandó el capitán Hernando Cortés a toda la tierra que de veinte y cuarenta leguas al rededor de donde estábamos, todos los hijos de los señores y principales viniesen a México, a San Francisco, a aprender la ley de Dios y a la enseñar, y la doctrina cristiana, y así se hizo que se juntaran luego poco más o menos mil muchachos, los cuales teníamos encerrados en nuestra casa de día y de noche, no les permitíamos ninguna conversación con sus padres y memos con sus madres, salvo solamente con los que los

⁸ Cf. R. Ricard, *Études de Documents*, p. 156.

⁹ Apud Cuevas, *Historia*, I, p. 165.

servían y traían de comer; y esto para que se olvidasen de sus sangrientas idolatrías y excesivos sacrificios donde el demonio se aprovechaba de innumerables cantidades de ánimos; por cierto cosa increíble que hubiese sacrificio de cincuenta mil almas.

De mañana hacían los religiosos se ayuntasen y rezasen y cantasen el Oficio menor de nuestra Señora, dende Prima hasta Nona, y luego oían misa, y luego entraban a leer y a escribir, y otros a enseñarse a cantar el Oficio Divino para lo oficiar. Los más hábiles aprendían la doctrina para la predicar a los pueblos y aldeas, y después de haber leído cantaban Nona de Nuestra Señora.¹⁰

Perhaps chief among the obstacles to a rapid shift to Christianity was the fact that the Spaniards were coming into a territory of many strange languages. Cortés was fortunate in having the *lenguas*, Marina and Aguilar, but for the immediate task of conversion the friars had to resort to gestures. Juan de Torquemada reports:

Era con mudez y solas señas, señalando el cielo, y diciendo estar allí el solo Dios que habían de creer, volviendo los ojos a la tierra, señalaban el infierno.¹¹

However, the churchmen set themselves to the task of learning Nahuatl soon after their arrival, and according to Mendieta, they were taught the language by the very children that they were teaching.

Era esta doctrina de muy poco fruto, pues ni los indios entendían lo que se decía en latín, ni cesaban sus idolatrías, ni podían los frailes

¹⁰ Quoted by Cuevas, *Historia*, II, p. 200.

¹¹ *Monarquía Indiana*, III, cap. XIII.

reprendérselas, ni poner los medios que convenía para quitárselas, por no saber su lengua. Y esto los tenía muy desconsolados y afligidos en aquellos principios, y no sabían que se hacer, porque aunque deseaban y procuraban de aprender la lengua, no había quien se la enseñase. Y los indios con la mucha reverencia que les tenían, no les osaban hablar palabra. En esta necesidad (así como solían en las demás) acudieron a la fuente de bondad y misericordia, nuestro Señor Dios, aumentando la oración y interponiendo ayunos y sufragios, invocando la intercesión de la sagrada Virgen Madre de Dios y de los santos ángeles, cuyos muy devotos eran, y la del bienaventurado padre San Francisco . . . Y púsoles el Señor en corazón, que con los niños que tenían por discípulos se volviesen también niños, como ellos, para participar de su lengua . . . y dejando a ratos la gravedad de sus personas, se ponían a jugar con ellos con pajuelas, o pedrezuelas el rato que les daban de huelga, y quitarles el empacho con la comunicación. Y traían siempre papel y tinta en las manos, y en oyendo el vocablo al indio, escribíanlo, y al propósito que lo dijo. Y a la tarde juntábanse los religiosos, y comunicaban los unos a los otros sus escritos, y lo mejor que podían conformaban a aquellos vocablos el romance que les parecía más convenir. Y acontecíales que lo que hoy les parecía habían entendido, mañana les parecía no ser así.¹²

Mendieta goes on to say that within six months they were able to converse in this strange Nahuatl tongue, and that Luis de Fuensalida and Francisco Ximénez were the first to learn the language. Alonso de Molina is also brought into Mendieta's account of the efforts of these first Franciscans, but recent in-

¹² Mendieta, *Historia*, pp. 219-220.

vestigation has shown that Molina did not arrive from Spain until 1530.¹³

Regardless of the accuracy of Mendieta's statements concerning the methods employed by the early friars for learning Mexican, the fact remains that many of them began to take an interest in the language of Anahuac and Tlaxcala, and later in other tongues of New Spain. These missionaries found it indispensable to master the languages in order to transmit religious ideas to the natives. Interpreters for this purpose were considered dubious channels. The clergymen took great pride in composing their own *artes*, *doctrinas cristianas* and *confesionarios*.¹⁴

Necessity itself was not the only reason for the appearance of so many works on Indian languages during the sixteenth century. These men were essentially Spaniards and Catholics. They were imbued with the same spirit that had moved Antonio Nebrija, whose grammar and dictionary served as models to most of them. They were carrying to the Indians the same Faith that Pedro de Alcalá had preached in his *Doctrina* published with the *Arte* of Arabic in 1505 in an effort to bring Christianity to to the Moors.

Another important manifestation of the desire to implant European civilization and culture in the New World was the introduction of the printing press. This was decided upon about 1533, and John Crom-

¹³ See below, p. 42.

¹⁴ Cf. A. L. Campa, *The Churchmen and the Indian Languages of New Spain*.

berger was persuaded to undertake the enterprise. In 1539 he established a branch of his Seville office in Mexico, and entered into a contract with Juan Pablos, a native of Lombardy, to print books in Mexico bearing the legend *Impresso en Casa de Juan Cromberger*.¹⁵

Thanks to the early printing in New Spain, many of the linguistic efforts of the Spanish fathers have been preserved and are available today.

The prototypes of Spanish literature in Indian languages of Mexico are to be found in the works on the Nahuatl or Mexican language, since this tongue was the one heard in the region where the Spaniards first established themselves. Later there appeared writings in the Huastecan, Otomí, Tarascan, Totonacan, Mayan, Mixtecan, Zapotecan, etc. Within sixty years after the Conquest there were grammars, dictionaries, and religious books available in all of these languages and many more. Much of the material was printed and in some cases in extra editions.

The arrangement of the *Artes* of the early writers is essentially that of the *Gramática Castellana* of Antonio de Nebrija. The Spanish terms used in the *vocabularios* compiled were those that had been used by Nebrija with additions from the vocabulary of the author concerned. Borrowed terms from Spanish began to appear quite early in the columns of native words, especially in cases where there were no equivalents in the Indian language.

¹⁵ Cf. J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en México*, Introduction.

The Spanish missionaries did not try to adapt the teaching of the catechism to the religions that they found in New Spain. For the most part, the priests were obliged to resort to Spanish words to picture religious concepts, as will be noted in the material following. This may have been partly due to the recognized similarity existing between the religion of Anáhuac, at least, and that of the Spaniards, for there was evidently a fear that the incorrect use of terms would bring back thoughts of the ancient pagan beliefs. However, we do find the word *Dios* often translated by *Tcotl* in *doctrinas* and *confesionarios* in Nahuatl.¹⁶

In 1538, Charles the Fifth authorized the printing of a *doctrina* with these words:

E advertid mucho que los que la examinaren que miren los vocablos no traigan inconvenientes para la doctrina y religion cristiana, por las significaciones que los indios en su lengua les dan.¹⁷

A comparison of the *doctrinas* and *confesionarios* of the first fathers in New Spain with the works of the type published by Pedro de Alcalá in Spanish and Arabic,¹⁸ reveal that they are essentially the same in form and manner of presentation. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a tendency manifest quite early in the American religious works

¹⁶ Cf. excerpts from the works of Molina, Baptista, León, etc., below.

¹⁷ Quoted by Ricard, *Études de Documents*, p. 222.

¹⁸ Bound with the *Arte para ligeramēte saber la lengua arauiga*, Granada, 1505.

to apply the Christian Doctrine, and confession based on it, to conditions particularly Mexican. In the quotations from the works of Molina, Sahagún, Baptista, and others, this is evident, especially in the questions on the Ten Commandments.¹⁹

Although the first Spanish priests were undoubtedly in great earnest in presenting lists of sins of which the Indians might confess, they were nevertheless asking for confession of sins that were naturally of another civilization, and it must be supposed that the natives may not have even heard of certain of the situations concerning which European clergymen questioned them.

The feeling that the promiscuous questioning of the natives concerning their sins might suggest possibilities was expressed by Manuel Pérez, an Augustinian friar who wrote in the early eighteenth century. In discussing the *Sacramento de la penitencia* and its application among the Indians, he said:

Si deve el Confessor preguntar por los Mandamientos sus culpas al Indio? La raçon es, porque preguntando demasiado, puede el Indio abrir los ojos en algunas cosas que ignora: de no preguntarle, puede dexar muchos pecados, y a vezes los dexa porque no se le preguntan.
[*Farol Indiano* . . . , p. 16]²⁰

This priest suggests that the confessor ask the native to confess of the sins that he can call to mind, and that he follow this with a few general questions on the Commandments. He also recommends that

¹⁹ See below, p. 47.

²⁰ See below, p. 78.

the questions be varied according to the status of the person confessing.

If the early priests followed all of the questions listed by Molina, Juan de Baptista, León, Feria, and others, the natives were asked for information concerning their most intimate relationships. However, it is undoubtedly true that many of these questions were given in the books written by these men for the benefit of other clergymen who might be learning the native tongues.

Thus, many of the first padres worked unceasingly to bring forth grammars and dictionaries modeled on the works of the great Antonio. They translated the formulas of the Catholic Religion into the languages of these new converts to their faith, and often accompanied the mere principles of the Faith with long explanations in the native tongues. These men constitute an important group of grammarians and lexicographers of which Spain and the Catholic Church may be justly proud. Their work has been the basis for subsequent efforts in these languages.

There has been a tendency among certain writers to ridicule the linguistic data of the friars, because their representations of Indian words or of certain grammatical constructions of the languages do not conform in all respects to more modern observations. This ridicule in certain cases has undoubtedly been prompted by lack of consideration of the age in which they wrote: an age in which all efforts of the type were in an experimental stage. Perhaps it is

ignorance of the fact that the Spanish language, the letters of which were used for portraying Indian sounds, has changed in pronunciation, as concerns certain of these letters, since the XVIth Century.

II

NAHUATL WRITINGS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

The Mexican or Nahuatl language, which has also been referred to as Aztec, is spoken in the Valley of Mexico and adjacent territory, as well as in certain districts of the states of Puebla, Guerrero, Jalisco, Vera Cruz, Tlaxcala, México and Hidalgo. It is a member of the Uto-Aztecan stock, to which belong many of the languages of Western and Northern Mexico, and the Southwestern part of the United States, as well as dialects of Central America.¹

Nahuatl is still spoken by more than a million natives, and it is thought that it may have been spread to some extent during the Conquest, since the Mexicans, and especially the natives of Tlaxcala, often accompanied the Spaniards on military expeditions southward. At any rate, place names throughout the central and southern part of the country were translated into the Mexican language.²

Dr. Franz Boas expresses the opinion that Mexican has been generally quite conservative in development since the coming of the Spaniards:

Nahuatl of Mexico has changed in so far as the higher literary style has disappeared and as old ideas have vanished and new ones have been

¹ Cf. Thomas and Swanton, *Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America*, p. 51, and map accompanying work.

² Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations*, p. 32.

introduced with concomitant change of vocabulary. In all other respects the modern language has not changed. It seems even possible to recognize the dialectic differences of various areas which may be reconstructed from the grammars of the early 16th century.³

It is not definitely known which of the Spanish fathers first applied the Spanish alphabet to this language of New Spain, but judging from the remarks of Mendieta, Luis de Fuensalida and Francisco Ximénez may have been the first. As far as extant works are concerned, the grammar of Andrés Olmos (1547) is the first book that gives definite information concerning the Mexican language. The *Doctrina Christiana* of Alonso de Molina (1546) simply illustrates the application of the Spanish alphabet. We shall consider the work of Olmos first, since he is the older of the two and was in New Spain two years before the youth Molina came over, though the latter has left at least ten works in the Nahuatl tongue.

The orthography used to represent Mexican has been throughout the centuries essentially that of sixteenth-century Spanish, with observations from writers of the seventeenth and succeeding centuries to the effect that certain aspects of this spelling do not conform to their pronunciation of Spanish. Since these same observations are made with regard to the application of the same letters to other Indian languages, it is assumed that Spanish is the language

³ *Classification of American Indian Languages*, Language, V, 1929, p. 1.

that has changed since the first transcriptions were made.

Variations that occurred during the early representation of the language were for the most part variations that were to be found in the spelling of Spanish itself. *Y*, *i* and *j* were written interchangeably by some writers for the vowel *i*. Prevocalic *u* (written *v* initially) was in the later writings preceded by *h*. *S* was used by certain writers rather than *x* to portray preconsonantal *š* of the Mexican language (cf. Spanish *caxcara*, *cuexco*, etc.). *Ç* was used by all early writers for prevocalic *š* of Mexican. Later writers often wrote *z*.⁴

ANDRÉS DE OLMOS (1486-1571)

When Juan de Zumárraga was named Bishop of Mexico in 1528, he asked Olmos to accompany him to the New World. Fray Andrés, a native of Oña in the province of Burgos, had attended the University of Valladolid and had become a member of the Franciscan Order.⁵

Upon reaching New Spain, he dedicated himself to the study of certain Indian languages, distinguishing himself as much by his learning as by his piety. He became well versed particularly in Nahuatl, Totonacan and Huastecan, writing grammatical studies in these tongues.⁶

⁴ For the pronunciation of Modern Mexican, see F. Boas, *Phonetics of the Mexican Language*, Int. Cong. Amer., 1912, p. 107.

⁵ Cf. J. Pilling, *The Writings of Padre de Olmos in the Languages of Mexico*, Amer. Anth., VIII, p. 43.

⁶ Cf. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 500.

Unfortunately the writings of this Spaniard on the Totonacan and Huastecan languages are not to be found. Nevertheless, works in these tongues that were undoubtedly due to his inspiration were later published. It is known, for instance, that his companions⁷ during his travels in the Huasteca were Luis Gómez and Juan de Mesa.⁷ The latter's name, along with that of Olmos, appears in the *Doctrina Christiana en la Lengua Guasteca* of Juan de la Cruz, as one who had done extensive work in the language, but who was prevented by modesty from publishing his efforts.⁸ In the *Arte del idioma totonaco* (1751) of Zembrano y Bonilla,⁹ which was written at Hueitlalpam, we find the digraph *lh* used to represent a sound that the author describes as strange to Spanish. The grammar was not an original production in all respects, since Zembrano refers to how the language had been written and uses a sixteenth-century method for representing the mispronunciation of Spanish words among the natives.¹⁰ It happens that the Mexican grammar of Father Olmos was written at Hueitlalpam; and it is known that he wrote on the Totonacan language. But the fact that makes it seem very probable that the grammar of Zembrano was based on an original by Olmos, is that the latter writer is apparently the only one of the early authors to use the combination *lh* to portray the sound of voiceless *l*.

⁷ Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia*, II, p. 432.

⁸ See below, p. 116.

⁹ See below, p. 122.

¹⁰ See below, p. 122 and 198.

The *Arte para aprender la lengua Mexicana* of Andrés de Olmos was first printed in Paris in 1875 by Rémi Siméon from two MSS. It was reprinted in Mexico in 1885. The following statement is reproduced in the French edition, based principally on a MS. found in the Bibliothèque Nationale:

Fue hecha esta arte en Sant Andres conuento de S. Francisco en Ueytlalhpa, a gloria de N.S. I.C., año de su nacimiento de 1547.

At the time of the completion of the grammar, Fray Andrés had lived in Mexico nearly twenty years. He infers in the prologue that he had written a work of the sort previous to that of 1547. While stating that he hoped his efforts would be an inspiration to one who might wish to do more extensive work, he says:

. . . otro quien el fuere seruido darle mas lumbré, haga camino, conociendo, a la primera que hize, faltarle mucho en el corte: aunque casi tocasse lo principal questa segunda, la qual, . . . considerando y mirando sobre la mesma materia algo de lo que otros hombres auian escripto por guardar la costumbre de los escriptores, añadiendo y quitando, segun que mejor parecio conuenir, y Dios fue seruido alumbrar . . .

From the *Epistola Nuncupatoria* we quote a statement similar to that given by Molina in the *Vocabulario* of 1555 to explain the difficulty attending the composition of a work in the language of the natives. (See below, p. 44)

Scio, et certe scio, quam plurima me scripturum nota et censura digna, si quidem non cum materno lacte linguam istam suxi, nec ab incubulis didici, sed quod potui ex Indorum offi-

cina ac fonte, magno cum dispendio et labore hausi.

In Chapter VI of the third part of the *arte* Olmos gives observations which are interesting and of particular value for this study. He seems to be opening the way for spelling of the Nahuatl tongue, but at the same time again gives evidence of having seen representations of Mexican pronunciation by means of the letters of the Spanish alphabet.¹²

La orthographia y manera de escriuir y pronunciar suele se tomar de las escrituras de los sabios y antiguos donde los ay; pero en esta lengua que no tenian escritura, falta esta lumbré y así en ella hemos de andar adeuinando; pero pondre aqui lo que me pareciera acerca de la orthographia y pronunciacion. Y si quadrare podrase poner en uso para que en todos aya conformidad en el escriuir y pronunciar de aqui adelante. Y si no quadrare lo que aqui pusiere perdere mi opinion, pues no estoi tan casado con mi parecer que no me sujetare al de otros siendo mejor.

Quanto a lo primero es de saber que en esta lengua les faltauan algunas letras de las que nosotros tenemos en nuestro *abece*, porque en ninguna dición que sea propia de su lengua se hallaran pronunciadas, ni ahora las tienen si no es en dicciones que de nuestro romance o del latin han tomado. Y las letras que les faltan son las siguientes: *b, d, f, g, r, s, v* consonante
...

A las otras letras que tienen comunes con nuestro romance les dan el mismo valor que nosotros, y aunque en la pronunciacion mas parece allegarse al latin que no a nuestro romance

¹² See his treatment of *s*, p. 176, and of *h*, p. 218.

en algunas sillabas o letras. Y ansi usan de los *ll* como en el latin que dezimos *villa*, y no como el romance que dezimos *marauilla*. Tambien la pronunciacion que nosotros tenemos destas sillabas *ja, je, ji, jo, ju*, ellos no la tienen.

Other remarks of this Franciscan are quoted elsewhere.¹³

ALONSO DE MOLINA (15....-1585)

Until recently nothing was known of the Spanish origin of this expert and prolific writer in the Mexican language. In an article in the *Anales del Museo Nacional*,¹⁴ Francisco Fernández del Castillo brings to light valuable information concerning Fray Alonso. It seems that in 1623, according to a manuscript seen by Mr. Fernández, Diego Verdugo Monegro says in the course of an application to the Holy Office of the Inquisition:

El Marqués del Valle cuando vino la segunda vez de España trujo consigo a Alonso Morales Molina y a Beatriz Gutiérrez su mujer, con un hijo que fué Fray Alonso de Molina el primero que tomó el hábito de S. Francisco en N. España y el que compuso el Vocabulario Mexicano y sus tres hijas Francisca, Leonor y Ana, las tres con el apellido Gutiérrez.

In another part of the manuscript it is stated that the parents were from Denia and that Doña Francisca was a native of Baeza.

Since Cortés came over the second time in 1530,¹⁵

¹³ See below, pp. 176, 212, 218.

¹⁴ *Aclaraciones históricas, Alonso de Molina*, ép. 5a, I, 1925, p. 346.

¹⁵ Cf. Prescott, *The Conquest of Mexico*, III, p. 279.

it is evident that Fray Alonso was not present as early as has been thought. Mendieta had reported, for instance, that Molina had taught Nahuatl to some of the original twelve:

El segundo remedio que les dió el Señor, fué que una mujer española y viuda tenía dos hijos chiquitos, los cuales tratando con los indios habían deprendido su lengua y la hablaban bien. Y sabiendo esto los religiosos, pidieron al Gobernador don Fernando Cortés, que les hiciese dar el uno de aquellos niños, y por medio suyo, holgó aquella dueña honrada de dar con toda voluntad el uno de sus dos hijuelos, llamado Alonsito. Éste fué otro Samuel ofrecido a Dios en el templo, que desde su niñez le sirvió y trabajó fidelísimamente . . . Éste fué el primero que sirviendo de intérprete a los frailes, dió a entender a los indios los misterios de nuestra fe, y fué maestro de los predicadores del Evangelio, porque él les enseñó la lengua, llevándoles de un pueblo a otro, donde moraban los religiosos, porque todos participasen de su ayuda. Cuando tuvo edad, tomó el hábito de la Orden y en ella trabajó hasta la última vejez con el ejemplo y doctrina . . . Llamóse después Fr. Alonso de Molina.¹⁶

Later, Mendieta says:

Fr. Alonso de Molina vino con sus padres, niño, a estas partes de la Nueva España, luego que se conquistó . . . Y cuando comenzaron los primeros doce padres a cultivar esta viña del Señor, este niño les sirvió de intérprete y enseñó a algunos de ellos la lengua mexicana . . . Fué único en saber bien la lengua de los mexicanos para aprovecharse de ella, en la cual con mucha suavidad y gracia particular que Nuestro Señor le comunicó predicó cincuenta años con

¹⁶ *Historia*, III, p. 220.

mucho contento y consuelo do los naturales.¹⁷

García Icazbalceta had expressed the doubt that at the time that the "doçe" began their work (about 1524), there should not be individuals of the two races who could speak well or badly, the language of the other.¹⁸

Molina's writings constitute not only one of the most extensive groups on American Indian languages, but after nearly four hundred years, his dictionary is still consulted as an authority on the Mexican language.

In the prologue to the *Arte* of 1571 Molina states that he had labored diligently with this tongue:

. . . desde mi tierna hedad hasta agora no he cesado òxercitarme . . . Para cõsolar en algũa manera aessos mismos ministros, y para fauorecer asu piadosa y charitativa yntenciõ (aunque no sin mucho trabajo) he procurado de escreuir muchas cosas enla lengua Mexicana . . . Conuiene asaber, dos vocabularios, . . . Tambien, escreui vna doctrina christiana, y vn confessorio, enla misma lengua Mexicana, con otras obras q estan ya ympressas: con otras muchas que estan por ymprimir, y son muy vtils aesta yglesia . . .

The importance of Molina's first work, the *Doctrina xpiana breue traduzida en lengua Mexicana*, is attested by the following excerpt from the first page of the book as printed in the *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico* (II, pp. 34-61):

Aquí comienza un enseñamiento que se llama

¹⁷ *Historia*, V, Pt. I, p. 685.

¹⁸ *Obras*, Biblioteca de Autores Mexicanos, III, p. 119.

Doctrina Cristiana, la qual han de aprender todos los niños y mancebos hijos de los naturales desta Nueva España, donde se tratan las cosas muy necessarias de aprender y saber y de poner por obra a los cristianos para se salvar, y para que sepan responder quando en alguna parte les fuere preguntado algo acerca de la cristianidad; y para que esta doctrina llegue a todas partes, y se sepa de todos, es necesario que se vuelva en las demás lenguas, conviene a saber, en la lengua de Michoacán, y en la de los otomíes, &c. Y manda el Sr. Obispo D. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga a los que enseñan en todas partes y muestran a leer y escribir, que primero enseñen esta Doctrina, de manera que todos la sepan de coro antes que entiendan en aprender lo demás. La cual Doctrina agora nuevamente se ha impreso aquí en México, por mandado del dicho Sr. Obispo D. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga.

The *doctrina*, which first appeared in 1546, presents an exposition of the main formulas of Catholic Christianity *en la lengua y en romance*. The Persignum Crucis, the Credo, the Pater Noster, the Salve Regina, the Ten Commandments, etc., are given first in Nahuatl and then in Spanish. Later works of this nature usually present the material in opposite columns.

The Persignum Crucis is arranged in this fashion:

Totecuyoe Diose ma ypanpa yn imachio in Cruz xitechmomaquixtili in yuicpa toyaouan. Ninomachiotia yca yn itocatzin yn tetatzin yhuan in tepiltzin yhuan in Spiritu Sancto. Mayuh mochihua.

Señor Dios Nuestro. Por la señal de la Santa Cruz nos librad de nuestros enemigos. Yo

me sanctiguo en el nombre del Padre y del Hijo y del Espíritu Sancto. Amen.

The first edition of Molina's great dictionary appeared in Mexico City in 1555 with the title *Aqui comienza vn vocabulario enla lengua castellana y mexicana*. Copies of the book have become quite rare. The one in the possession of the Library of the Museum of the American Indian contains an interesting MS. vocabulary of the Matlaltzincan language.¹⁹

In the prologue Molina explains, in terms similar to those of Andrés de Olmos, certain difficulties that had beset him in the composition of the work.

Algunas dificultades que se me han ofrecido, an sido causa q ãtes de agora no aya puesto mano en esta obra. Lo primero y principal, no auer mamado esta lengua con la leche, ni serme natural: sino averla aprendido por vn poco de vso y exercicio, y este no del todo, puede descubrir los secretos que ay en la lengua, . . .

To explain the occurrence of terms not strictly Spanish, Fray Alonso gives this information in his *Aviso primero*:

En este vocabulario se ponen algunos romances, que en nuestro Castellano no quadran, ni se vsan mucho: y esto se haze por dar a entēder mejor la propiedad dela lengua de los indios, y assi dezimos Abaxador aunque no se vsa en nuestro romance: por declarar lo que quiere dezir esta palabra. tlatemouiani, la qual en buen romance quiere dezir, el que abaxa algo.

Concerning the source of the Mexican words that are to be found in the dictionary, the author says:

¹⁹ See below, p. 91.

. . . al principio se pondran los que se vsan aqui en Tetzcuco y en Mexico, que es dōde mejor y mas curiosamente se habla la lengua: y al cabo se pondran los que se vsan en otras prouincias, si algunos ouiere particulares.

A few items of interest from this dictionary and from that of 1571 are given with a discussion of the pronunciation of sixteenth-century Spanish in the second part of the present study.

In 1565 Molina's *Confessionario breue* came from the press, and was destined to be the model for many other productions of the type. Nahuatl and Spanish questions on the Commandments, Sacraments, etc., are arranged in parallel columns with the intention of providing confessors with a means of questioning Indians in regions where only Nahuatl was spoken.

Among the questions on the Commandments are to be found the following:

Ynuocaste o llamaste alguna vez al demonio, o alguno lo inuoco delâte đ ti, y no lo estoruaste?

Llamaste algũa vez algũ hechizero, pa q te echase suertes: o llamastele pa q te descubriese lo que auias pdido?

Creiste en sueños?

Creiste o tuuiste por aguero al buho, quando llora: o ala lechuza quãdo da bozes, o haze ruydo cōlas vñas o a cierto escarauajo q en alguna parte viste?

Baptizaste te dos vezes, o orecebiste [*sic*] dos vezes la confirmaciō: ocasaste te ē dos o tres partes y son por vētura biuas todas aqllas con qen te casaste, âte la scta madre yglesia?

Y enla casa de nuestro señor Dios, estas por vētura desasosegado, o estas burlando cō otros y dziendo chufas, o parlando con algunos: cob-

dicias alli algũa psona o estastelas riendo alas mugeres?

Pregunta p la muger.

Por ventura trabajas los domingos y fiestas: hylas, texes, coses, o lauas la ropa: &c.

Bañaste con los hõbres en los baños caliêtes: o cometiste alli algun peccado?

Quiça no viste missa por razõ de no tener con que te cubrieses, teniendo por esto verguença?

Preguntas p los principales.

Los domingos y fiestas de guardar, tienes cuidado y hazes las diligencias deuidas, para q se ayunten los maceuales, y vean missa: y para que oyan el sermon?

Por ventura mãdaste a los maceuales, q labrasen tierras o hedificasen casas, y que fuesen al monte?

Maltrataste a alguno, distele de palos qbrastele el braço, qbrastele la cabeça, mesastele, o distele con algo en la cabeça, o distele de coxcorrones, o de cabeçadas, hendistele la cabeça?

Preguntas p la mugar.

Has tomado beuedizos para echar la criatura, o mataste a tu hijo, dãdole adrede a mamar, d tal manera q le lastimaste la boca y no pudo mas mamar? o durmiendo le mataste, echãdo te sobre el? O por ventura, por auer tomado aqllõs beuedizos (con los qles qrias echar la criatura) sucedio te alguna enfermedad?

Beuiste algun breuaje para no engendrar ni auer mas hijos?

Y tu que eres medica, has aprendido bien la medicina y arte de curar: o finges q eres medica, y no conoces las medicinas, las yeruas y rayzes que diste al enfermo, por lo qual crecio mas su enfermedad, o acabo la vida el enfermo que querias curar?

Preguntas p el hombre.

Cobdiciaste alguna muger, o echastete con ella?

Con quantas mugeres has tenido parte? . . .

Era por ventura biuda . . . o persona religiosa, o beata: era tu comadre, o tu cuñada?

Besaste alguna muger, o abraçastela, o asistela, delas tetas, o retoçastela?

Quando duermes, y sueñas que tienes parte con alguna muger, despues que has despertado y te acuerdas de tu sueño, plazete dello? Porque si tomas plazer del suzio deleyte q soñaste, cometes pecado mortal: y si dello tuuieres pesar y triesteza, no se ñputara a pecado por qnto estauas durmiendo.

Empreñaste alguna muger casada, y piensa agora su marido que es suyo aquel hijo?

Preguntas para la muger.

Afeitastete, adornandote y poniendo algũa cosa en el rostro, para que te cobdiciasen?

Preguntas para los casados, y primeramente para el varon casado.

Preguntas para la muger casada.

In the *Confessionario mayor* (1565), in addition to enlarging on the material in connection with the Ten Commandments, Molina includes questions on the Church Commandments, Works of Mercy, etc.

The questions on the Seventh Commandment reveal an interesting application of confession in America.

Y tu que eres tratante, y buscas la vida, y andas en los tianguez,²⁰ por ventura, no endereçaste la intenciõ d tus tratos y oficio?

Y tu q vêdes cacao, reboluiste el buẽ cacao cõ el malo, pa q todo se emplease y vëdiese, enga-

²⁰ Market place.

ñando a las gentes: Encenizaste el cacao verde, o reboluistelo cõ tierra blãca pa q pareciese bueno, o pones massa de Tzoualli, dêtro del hollejo del dicho cacao, o massa de cuexcos de auacatl,²¹ falseando el dicho cacao: Y los caecos pequeños y ðlgados, tuestas los, para los hazer parecer grandes y gruessos?

Y tu que vendes auacates, ãgañas por ventura a los pobres otomies, o a los moçuelos, dãdoles auacates dañados y malos, y los que estã por madurar, los friegas y maduras con los dedos, ãgañando a tus pximos?

Y tu q vêdes cuêtas, y vendes cartillas, horas, papel, tïgeras, cuchillos, peynes, y todo lo ya dicho, engañaste, o burlaste a alguno?

Y tu q vêdes tamales qça no les echaste mucha massa, y les echaste muchos frisoles dêtro, o los enboluiste cõ muchas hojas de mayz, para q pareciesen grandes?

Y tu q tienes baños calientes, heziste el baño q tienes, co auctoridad ð la justicia, y ãdan por vêtura en el rebueltos hõbres y mugeres (qndo se bañan) qça se cometio alli algũa maldad, y tu no la estoruaste? Y qça no se bañarõ ã tu baño solos los ãfermos, mas tâbiẽ los sanos, y los q no tenian necessidad?

The second edition of Molina's *vocabulario*, published in 1571, has as a second part a Mexican-Spanish dictionary, in the prologue of which the author states that he had added four thousand words to the Spanish-Mexican section since the edition of 1555, adding that God only knew how much work it had cost him. The book was reprinted in facsimile in 1880 by Julius Platzmann.

²¹ Commonly called *aguacate* in Mexico and *avocado* in California.

Molina's observations concerning the letters that were to be used to represent the Nahuatl pronunciation are expressed in the prologue to the *Arte de la lengua mexicana y castellana*, Mexico, 1571.

Primeramente es de saber, que esta lengua carece de seys letras, que son. b. d. f. g. r. s, Ytez[sic] los varones, no vsan de, v, consonante, aunque las mugeres Mexicanas, solamente, la vsen. Y assi dizen ellos veuetl, que es atabal, o tamborin, con quatro sillabas: y ellas dizen veuetl, con solas dos sillabas. Ytem, enesta lēgua ay cinco letras vocales, como en la latina y castellana: y son a, e i, o, u, puesto caso que los naturales hagā poca diferencia entre la o y la v, por quanto vsan asi dela vna como dela otra indiferentemente . . . Y no tienē ni pnūciā estas sillabas. ja. je. ji. jo. ju. lla. lle. lli. llo. llu. ña. ñe. ñi. ño. ñu. como nosotros las pronunciamos en nuestro Romance, asi como quando dezimos marauilla, espinilla, mañana, juego de naypes, &c. Y si alguna vez vsan de las ll. juntas, asi como milla, . . . hase de pronunciar como en el latin . . .

In addition he has something to say of the combination *tz*. This digraph will be discussed, along with his remarks concerning it, in a later chapter. The reference to the pronunciation of *v* by the Mexican women was often repeated by writers to follow.

Of the parts of speech he says:

Las partes dela oracion, son ocho, (conuiene asaber) nombre, asi como. teutl. que quiere dezir dios: pronombre asi como nehuatl. yo. Verbo. asi como. nitetlaçotla. yo amo. Aduerbio. asi como. axcan. oy, o agora. Participio. asi como yntetlaçotla. elq ama. Conjunction. asi como.

yuan. y, o tambien. Preposiciõ. asi como. pan. ē
o ēcima. Interjection. asi como. yyo. o.

The second edition of the *arte* (1576) was, as the full title explains, *mas copiosa y clara que la primera*, but for the present study the important change was one in reference to the sound represented by *tz*.²²

The eighth production of Fray Alonso was a *confessionario breue* very similar to that of 1565. A series of admonitions is followed by questions on the Ten Commandments. The word *Dios* is often translated by the Mexican *teotl*. This translation is common throughout the writings of Molina and other early writers. Even compounds, such as *teotlatolli* and *teoamoxtli* are used quite often in referring to the Scriptures.

The following excerpt from the *amonestacion* that is given preceding the questions may be of interest:

Agora oye mi amado hijo. Pues has venido a manifestarme tus pecdos: tu negrura y suziedad, tu hediõdez y podredũbre: cõuiene q te acuerdes que eres pecdor: y q sienta tu coraçõ y tēgas entēdido muy ð veras que en muchas cosas ofendiste a tu Dios y Señor. Y que por tus peccados esta de ti muy enojado: y si agora no te confessaras dellos, te echara enel infierno, adonde para siempre auias de padecer, y te avia de castigar los demonios, y te auia ð atormentar y afligir, y nunca de alla auias de salir.

A typical introductory paragraph for religious works printed in Mexico during the sixteenth cen-

²² This change and the accompanying remarks of Molina are discussed below, Part II, p. 131.

ture is to be found in the *Confessionario mayor* of 1578:

En el nombre d la sãctissima trinidad, padre, hijo, y spiritu sancto y de la siempre virgẽ sancta Maria nuestra seõora. Aqui comienza vn cõfessionario, que compuso y ordeno el Reuendo padre Fray Alonso de Molina, de la orden de sant Francisco, traduzido en lẽgua de los nauas por el mismo autor.

The application of confession in New Spain is pictured to some extent by the subjects discussed in this rare book. Among other items we find the following:

Ayunos, alos quales son obligados los naturales, so pena de peccado mortal.

Buscar sus peccados: le es muy necessario al penitẽte parase confessar dellos.

Cãrne, quando sõ obligados los naturales, ase abstener della, sopena de peccado mortal.

Engaños de diuersas maneras, que los naturales tienen en el cõprar y vender.

Fiestas de guardar, a las quales obliga la iglesia alos naturales: sopena de peccado mortal.

Gouernadores, alcaldes, regidores, y otras personas q sõ elegidas por escrutinio y por votos, si por vẽtura el penitẽte, por officio o pasiõ dio su voto, i eligio al indino pael tal officio, dexãdo de elegir al q era suficiẽte: ai necesidad q el dicho elector se confiesse desto, porque pecco mortalmẽte.

Lagrimas y sentimiento, q el penitente deue tener quando se confiessa.

Lugares, tierras y pueblos, q el penitente ha ãdado y corrido, los quales deue traer a la memoria, para acordarse d los peccados que en ellos cometio, y se cõfessar dellos.

The text of the *Doctrina Christiana, en lengua mexicana* (1578) is entirely Mexican, although chapter headings are given in both Spanish and Nahuatl. Instead of the simple formulas characteristic of Molina's first *doctrina*, we find in this book extended sermons on the creation of the angels, the creation of man, the Commandments, etc.

PEDRO DE GANTE (1486-1572)

As has been noted, this famous Flemish friar was one of the first to arrive in New Spain. He was on the scene so early that he had to remain at Texcoco until 1527 during the reconstruction of Mexico City. In spite of an impediment of speech, he devoted a large part of his time to teaching. He supervised the building of several schools and early took an interest in the Mexican language.²³

In a letter to certain of his brothers in religion in Flanders, Fray Pedro states that he had quite forgotten his native language.

Deseo y pido encarecidamente que alguno de vosotros tome sobre sí, por amor de Dios, el trabajo de traducir esta carta en lengua flamenca o alemana, y la envíe a mis parientes para que a lo menos sepan de mí algo cierto y favorable, como que vivo y estoy bueno. De lo cual sea a Dios gloria y alabanza.

No tengo por ahora más que escribir, aunque mucho pudiera contar de esta tierra, si no fuera porque del todo he dejado mi lengua nativa.²⁴

²³ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta en México*, I, p. 56.

²⁴ Apud Cuevas, *Historia*, I, p. 160.

A fragment of a *doctrina cristiana* which García Icazbalceta attributes to Gante²⁵ exists in the John Carter Brown Library. This bibliographer bases his supposition that it is of Gante on similarities between the work and another known to be of Gante which came from the press of Juan Pablos in 1553,²⁶ and estimates that the work was printed about 1547, since it bears the coat of arms of Zumarraga, who died in 1548.

BERNARDINO DE SAHAGUN (1499-1590)

Certainly the most important writer of this group of early Americanists, from the standpoint of the recording of history, rites, and customs of the Mexicans, is Bernardino de Sahagún, a native of Sahagún, León.²⁷

While studying at the University of Salamanca, Fray Bernardino joined the Franciscan Order, and came to America in 1529 with a group that had been organized by Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, one of the famous Twelve. It is known that he spent some time in the Valley of Puebla, that between 1530 and 1533 he lived at Tlalmanalco, and that he was present for the inauguration of the Colegio de la Santa Cruz at Tlatelolco, in which institution he taught for years.²⁸

During more than 60 years of work with the Indians of New Spain, Sahagún characterized himself

²⁵ Cf. *Bibliografía del siglo XVI*, no. 14.

²⁶ Medina, *op. cit.*, no. 20.

²⁷ Cf. García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, p. 253.

²⁸ Cf. J. M. Pou, *Coloquios*, pp. 284-286.

not only by his evangelical zeal, but also by his great work as a historian and expert in the language of the natives.

Mendieta says of the character of this great Spaniard:

Fué Fr. Bernardino religioso muy macizo cristiano, celosísimo de las cosas de la fe, deseando y procurando con todas sus fuerzas que ésta se imprimiese muy de veras en los nuevos convertidos. Amó mucho el recogimiento y continuaba en gran manera las cosas de la religión, tanto que con toda su vejez nunca se halló que faltase a maitines, y de las demás horas. Era manso, humilde, pobre y en su conversación avisado y afable a todos.²⁹

As García Icazbalceta has affirmed,³⁰ the bibliography of Sahagún is perhaps the most difficult of the writers in Mexican. This is true in large measure because of its extent, and is due to the fact that the author often included in one work sections that he had written as independent compositions. As far as is known, only one of the author's works was printed during his life, the *Psalmodia Christiana*, 1583.³¹

Sahagún's Mexican version of parts of the New Testament was published by Biondelli in 1857. In the collection of epistles, we find such titles as the following:

Epistola B. Pauli Apostoli ad Ephesios.
Evangelium Secundum Johannem.

²⁹ *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 664.

³⁰ *Bibliografía*, p. 262.

³¹ Cf. Mendieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 551 and 663; also, J. M. Pou, *Coloquios*, p. 292.

Alia Epistola ad Timotheum Secunda.

Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum.

Aliud Evangelium Secundum Lucam.

In Nomine Domini incipiunt Epistolae et Evangelia quae per anni totius tractum Leguntur in Diebus Festis.

In Nocte Nativitatis Domini ad Primam Missam.

In Secunda Missa Nativitatis Domini.

Biondelli publishes a facsimile of one of the original pages, and a comparison of this with the printed text shows that the spelling has been changed to some extent.

The John Carter Brown Library possesses a good copy of the *Psalmodia Christiana* of Sahagún. The work which was written in the time of Luis de Velasco, according to the prologue, was not published until 1583.

In the *Licencia* of this book, there is reference to the *Coloquios* of the first twelve Franciscans, a work that was evidently never printed. (See below, p. 58)

Por quanto se me ha hecho relacion: que Fr. Bernardino de Sahagun, dela orden de sanct Francisco compuso vn libro, intitulado Coloquios de Doctriua [*sic*]: cõ que los primeros doze Frayles dela dicha orden, que vinieron a esta nueva España, instruyeron y enseñaron a los naturales della: y vna Psalmodia de cantares, en lengua Mexicana: para que los Indios canten en las fiestas principales del Año, que quisieren celebrar: que ambas cosas se entienda, ser para ellos de mucha vtilidad y prouecho, y que conuiene se imprimã.

The purpose of the book is explained by Sahagún in his prologue.

Entre otras cosas, en que fuerõ muy curiosos los Indios desta nueva España: fue vna la cultura de sus dioses, que fueron muchos, y los honrauan de diuersas maneras: y tambien los loores, cõ que los alabauan de noche y de dia, en los templos, y oratorios: cantando hymnos, y haziendo choros y danças en presencia dellos: alabandolos. Quando esto hazian, se componian de diuersas maneras, en diuersas fiestas, y hazian diuersas diferencias en los meneos dela dança: y cantauan diuersos cantares en loor de aquellos dioses falsos, cuyas fiestas celebrauan. Ha se trabajado despues aca, que son baptizados de hazer los dexar aquellos cantares antiguos, con que alabauan a sus falsos dioses y que canten solamente los loores de Dios, y de sus Sanctos, y esto de dia, y en las Pasquas, y Domingos, y fiestas delos Sanctos de sus Iglesias. Y a este proposito se les ha dado cantares de dios, y de sus Sanctos en muchas partes, paraq dexten los otros cantares antiguos: y han los rescebido. . . .

Besides the Pater Noster, Commandments, etc., the book contains many of the Psalms and a series of *cantares* listed by feast days throughout the year.

A photostatic copy of the Spanish-Latin-Mexican dictionary attributed to Sahagún is available in the library of the Hispanic Society of America. It consists of some 300 pages of two columns.

Certain terms from this *vocabulario* will be discussed later in connection with the use of the Spanish letters to represent Nahuatl phonemes. However, we give a few items that illustrate to some ex-

tent the manner in which the Mexicans dealt with words from the language of their conquerors for which they had no equivalents:

Acenna para moler . . . *caxtilla metlatl*.
(Spanish mill)

Angel bueno . . . *y qualli angel*.

Angel malo . . . *Tlacatecolotl*. (Devil)³²

Asno manso . . . *castillantochi*. (Spanish rabbit)³³

Cauallo . . . *maçatl*. (Deer)

Cauallo pequeño . . . *maçatontli*. (Baby deer)

The capital work of Sahagún is the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, a compilation that he started at least as early as 1547, and one that he did not complete until 1569.³⁴ He divided the work into twelve books, each containing many chapters. Although it was first written in Mexican, it was later translated into Spanish, and in 1577 Phillip II asked that it be sent to Spain. A copy was delivered to the Council of the Indies, but at least one remained in Mexico.³⁵ Suffice it to say that the *Historia general* is the best known source for information about the customs and rites of the ancient Mexicans. There have been several editions of the

³² See Martín León's comments on the use of this term, p. 74. The word is evidently a combination of *tlacatl*, man, and *tecolotl*, owl.

³³ Fray Juan de Cordoba in the *arte* on Zapotecan speaks of the same custom of referring to the burro as a Spanish rabbit. See below, p. 103.

³⁴ Cf. Pou, *Coloquios*, p. 292.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

A letter of Pedro Moya de Contreras to the Council in 1578 states:

"La *Historia universal* de estos naturales, y de sus ritos

work or of parts of it (see general bibliography). It was first published in Mexico in 1829.

From Mendieta we have the following notice of another effort of this indefatigable missionary.³⁶

El padre Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, de buena memoria, que vino pocos años después de los primeros, y trabajó en esta obra de la conversión y doctrina de los indios más de sesenta años, dejó entre otros sus escritos ciertas pláticas que los doce, luego como llegaron a México, hicieron a los caciques y principales de este reino, que por mandado del gobernador habían hallados allí juntos y congregados. Y esto harían por lengua de Gerónimo de Aguilar o de otro intérprete de Cortés; porque ni ellos en aquella sazón sabían la lengua de los indios, ni traían quien se la interpretase.

A portion of these *pláticas* were found in the Vatican Library, and were published in the *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* by J. M. Póu in 1924.³⁷

The prologue and the list of chapters are written only in Spanish, but that which follows is written in both Spanish and Mexican. Fourteen of the original

y ceremonias compuesta por fray Bernardino de Sahagún de la O. de S. F., que V. M. mandó se envíe originalmente, sin que quede acá traslado ni ande impresa, ni de mano, por justas consideraciones, me ha dicho el autor que la ha dado con todos sus papeles originales al Virrey, en lengua castellana y mexicana y ciertos traslados que había sacado. V. M. estime la lengua mexicana de este religioso, que es la más elegante y propia que hay en estas partes, y con el tiempo terná más calidad, porque con él se va perdiendo la propiedad . . . " (Apud Medina, *Imperenta*, I, p. 263).

³⁶ *Historia*, p. 213.

³⁷ *El libro perdido de las pláticas o coloquios*, III, pp. 281-333.

51 chapters are present. Sahagún had intended to make the work much larger, but noted that Toribio de Motolinia had already recorded much of the early history of the first missionaries.³⁸

According to Sahagún, the *doce apóstoles* addressed the Indian chieftains in this fashion:

Señores y principales de Mexico—que aqui estais juntos—oyd con atencion, y notad lo que os queremos dezir, que es daros a entender la causa de nuestra venida—. Ante todas cosas os rogamos que no os turbeis ni espanteis de nosotros, ni penseis que somos mas que hombres mortales y pasibles como vosotros; no somos dioses ni emos descendido del cielo, en la tierra somos nacidos y criados, comemos y bebemos y somos passibles y mortales como vosotros . . .³⁹

RELIGIOSOS DE LA ORDEN DE SANTO DOMINGO

At least three editions of a *Doctrina Christiana* by this group appeared in Mexico: one in 1548, and two in 1550. The first section of the book, spoken of as the *Doctrina breve*, resembles in form and spelling, the *doctrina* of Alonso de Molina of 1546. In the colophon of the edition of 1550 reference is made to a brief work of the sort printed in 1546.

. . . Y porq enla congregaciõ q los señores obispos tuuierõ se ordeno q se hiziessen dos doctrinas: vna breue y otra larga: y la breue es la q el año de. M. d. xlvj. se imprimio. Manda su señoria reuerendissima q la otra grande puede ser esta: pa declaracion dela otra pequeña. Aca-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300. See the Sánchez addition of Motolinia's *Historia de los indios de Nueva España*, Barcelona, 1914.

³⁹ *Coloquios*, p. 304.

bose de imprimir a xvij dias del mes de Abril.
Año de 1550. años.

Domingo de la Anunciación states in the preliminaries to his *Doctrina breve* of 1565⁴⁰ that he had composed a larger one in sermons years before. It is very probable that Fray Domingo was concerned in the translation of that of 1548.

In the prologue of the edition of April 1550, we find the statement as to the origin of the material for this *doctrina* of the Dominican Friars:

. . . De aqui es que mouidos los religiosos dela orden de nuestro glorioso padre y patriarca sancto Domingo fundador dela ordẽ delss [*sic*] predicadores, cõ zelo dela honrra de Dios y dela salud delas animas: acordarõ de sacar en limpio la presente doctrina: la ql es declaracion de toda la doctrina xpiana . . . Fue esta dicha doctrina xpiana y declaraciõ della primeramente instituyda por el muy reuerendo padre fray Pedro d cordoua ⁴¹ de buena memoria, fundador dela dicha ordẽ de predicadores enlas yslas del mar oceano. impressa en sola la lengua de Castilla por el reuerendissimo señor dõ fray Juã çumarraga: primero obispo de Mexico y por el muy reuerendo padre fray Domingo de Betanços: prior del conuento de sancto Domingo de Mexico.

The *Doctrina breve* occupies the first ten leaves of the volume, giving in Latin and Nahuatl the Per-signum Crucis, the Credo, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sac-

⁴⁰ See below, p. 63.

⁴¹ Cordoba's *doctrina* and another by Bishop Zumarraga were printed in Mexico City in 1544. Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, Nos. 5, 8.

raments, the Works of Mercy and the Mortal Sins. There follows a *Doctrina mayor* in the form of sermons on the Articles of Divinity, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments of the Church, Works of Mercy, Hell and Purgatory, Virginity, Martyrdom, Unity of the Church, Creation of the World, the Newly Baptized, etc.

The outstanding change in spelling of the large *doctrina* is the use of *tç* rather than *tz* before vowels. We find such words as *yxquetçalo*, *yenuatçin*, *totatçine*, *inmotocatçin*, *campampatçinco*, etc.⁴²

DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACIÓN (1510-1591)

This Dominican monk, a native of Fuenteovejuna, came to New Spain in 1528.⁴³ The work of Fray Domingo and that of Juan de la Anunciación may be said to mark the beginning of the publication of more elaborate *doctrinas*, the fruits of forty years experience with the Mexican language and with the psychology of the Indians.

Fray Domingo's *Doctrina xpiana breue y compendiosa* was printed in Mexico in 1565. According to the prologue of the book, the author had written a work of the type in *sermones* years before.

Propuse de me abrazar cõ ella, poner mano e componer la psente doctrina breue, con la grande que los años pasados hize, por via de dialogo la menor, y la mayor por via de ser-

⁴² Although the sound **ts** was usually expressed by *tz*, certain writers, Father Olmos included, often wrote *tç*.

⁴³ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, no. 47.

mones, todo pa hōrra y gloria de nño señor, y salud delas añas, pues su magestad me a hecho vno y el mas minimo delos obreros desta su viña, enla ql aunque con muchas faltas he trabajado de treynta años a esta parte, con desseo de aprouechar a estas nuevas plâtas, aunque las obras y el exêplo no hã respondido al deseo, Agora para cūplir el mandamiento de V, S, procure de abreuuar la psête doctrina quanto pude, para la qual me aproueche delas otras doctrinas, que hasta aq se hã ympssso, asi enesta tierra como en españa de las qualès escogi lo mas vtil y necessario . . .

The following excerpt from the first chapter of the *doctrina* is typical of the arrangement of early books of this type:

El primer capitulo contiene que quiere dezir christiano: y quales son las armas y ynsignias del Christiano.

Habla el maestro y dizze. Hijo y discipulo mio Ruego te mucho que me digas que es lo que as aprendido y estudiado acerca de la enseñaça que contigo he hecho de la doctrina Christiana tanto tiempo a?

Ynic centlamaleicapitulo vnca motenehua yntlein quitoznequi christiano auh catleuatlinitlahuiz yn imachiyo ynxpiano.

Temachtiani tlatohua Nopiltzine, yntinotla machtilnimitztlatlahu tia tla-xinechilhui tleyn otic nomachti ytechpay machoca doctrina xpiana caieixqch cahuitl hin ynnimitzmachtui nemi?

JUAN DE LA ANUNCIACIÓN

In 1555, Fray Juan, a native of Granda, joined the Augustinians in Mexico, and became subprior of the monastery of St. Augustine in 1575.⁴⁴

His *Doctrina Christiana* of 1575 was dedicated to

⁴⁴ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, no. 78.

the viceroy, Martín Enríquez, and gives the usual expositions of the Articles of Faith, the Creation, the Sacraments, the Commandments, etc., and also contains a brief confessionary modeled on that of Molina.

JUAN DE GAONA (1507-1560)

Gaona, a native of Burgos, aligned himself with the Franciscan Order in that city, studied for a time in Paris, and came to America in 1538. He was guardian at Tlatelolco and later at Xochimilco. Elected Provincial in 1551, he resigned a year later due to failing sight.⁴⁵

Miguel Zárte corrected and revised the work of Father Gaona, and published his *Colloquios de la Paz y Tranquilidad Christiana* in 1582. Concerning the fact that the work had not been published before, Zárte says in the preliminaries:

. . . assi agora han estado occultos los Colloquios dela Paz y tranquilidad Christiana del muy Reuerendo, y doctissimo padre Fray Ioan de Gaona: quiças por peccados nuestros: o porque aun los naturales destos Reynos, no eran merecedores de tener impressa vna Doctrina tan buena, y de tãta erudicion en su lengua vulgar, para su cõsuelo, y de sus ministros: mas agora, al cabo đ quarenta años, o cerca, que los cõpuso el Auctor, los prelados los han trauado delas pihuelas, como a cosa, que sea de gran vtilidad, y prouecho para los naturales destos Reynos, y sus ministros . . .

The material is presented in the form of a dialogue between a *padre* and a *collegial*, and such sub-

⁴⁵ Cf. García Icazbalceta, *Bib. de Aut. Mex.*, III, p. 337.

jects as the following are discussed in Mexican:

Cap. primero. Como el appetito, y desseo demasiado de las cosas temporales, y terrenas hazen insipidas, y desabridas las cosas spirituales: y de como el Demonio comiença por cosas pequeñas, para engañar, y derribar a los hombres en cosas mayores.

ANTONIO DEL RINCÓN (1556-1601)

This native of Texcoco is said to have descended from the ancient kings of that region.⁴⁶ He became a member of the Jesuit Order, and his *Arte mexicano* (1595) was one of the first publications of importance by a member of that society.

The grammar of Rincón, like those of Olmos and Molina, follows the Latin model, but in the prologue the author expresses the necessity of deviating slightly from the classical grammar:

. . . haviendo yo de escreuir Arte para depren-
der y enseñar la lengua mexicana no me pare-
cio apartarme del ordinario camino por donde
procede la lengua latina, que es mas sabida en-
tre nosotros, ni tampoco me he querido obligar
aseguir del todo sus reglas, porque seria llevar
muy fuera de proposito (y como dizen) de los
cabellos muchas cosas que aca piden muy dife-
rentes preceptos. De manera que en aquello
que me e podido aprouechar de la gramatica
latina siempre me yre arrimando a ella pero en
las demas cosas, en questa lengua se diferencia
de la latina por ser ellas nuevas a sido forçoso
reducirlas a nuevas reglas, con el nuevo estilo
que se require.

Rincón was probably the first to make reference

⁴⁶ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, no. 135.

to the *saltillo* or glottal stop heard in Mexican, although a much better analysis is given by León and then by Carochi a few years later (see below, pp. 72, 79).

In his chapter on pronunciation and accentuation, the author informs his readers that the Mexicans do not pronounce *b, d, f, g, r, s, v*; nor *ll al modo del español*.

JUAN BAPTISTA (1555-1615)

At the time of the publication of his *Confessionario* of 1599, this great linguist and teacher of Juan de Torquemada the historian, was the guardian at Santiago Tlatelolco. He was a member of the Franciscan Order.

We quote from the prologue of the author's *Sermonario* of 1606, in which he tells not only of his own study of Mexican, but possibly hints as to how some of his venerable predecessors were able to turn out so much in the language of the natives.

Mas ha de veyntiocho años que comence a estudiar la lengua Mexicana por el Arte, y con particular aficion, y cuydado: y cerca dellos que predico en ella. Todo este tiempo he deseado ver impresso vn sermonario por donde poder predicar a estos Naturales. Y viêdo que no salia a luz, procurè recoger mis estudios, y los agenos de Religiosos desta mi Prouincia del santo Euangelio para hazerlo: y aunque al principio me pareciò negocio, ni de mucho trabajo, ni de mucha difficultad: puesta la mano ala obra, vi ser el trabajo immenso, y las difficultades sin cuento . . .

He me ayudado en esta obra de algunos naturales muy ladinos, y habiles: especialmente de vn Hernando de Ribas (de los primeros hijos del Colegio Real de sancta Cruz, que està fundado enel Conuento de Sanctiago Tlatilulco en Mexico) natural dela Ciudad de Tetzcuco, muy gran latino, y que con mucha facilidad traduzia qualquiera cosa de Latin, y de Romance en la lengua Mexicana: atendiendo mas al sentido que ala letra: el qual me escriuiò y traduxò [*sic*] de cosas diuersas mas de treynta manos de papel Murio el año de nouenta y siete . . . Con su ayuda compuso el Padre fray Alonso de Molina el Arte, y Vocabulario Mexicano, y el Padre fray Ioan de Gaona los Dialogos dela Paz, y tranquilidad del alma . . .

Fray Juan mentions several other Indians who had helped him, and one in particular who had also aided Father Sahagún.

Agustin dela Fuente, natural tambien de Sanctiago Tlatilulco y Maestro del Colegio de sancta Cruz . . . y toda su vida no ha entendido en otra cosa, sino en secruir alos venerables Padres fray Bernardino de Sahagun, y fray Pedro Oroz, . . . Es vno delos mejores, y mas liberales escriuanos que ha auido en esta nacion de Indios. Este he tenido estos diez años comigo, y por su mano ha scripto y passado todo quanto he impresso hasta aqui, y podre imprimir en muchos dias.

Fray Juan's *confessionario* of 1599 is practically a copy of the works of Molina of 1565 and 1578. Some of the questions in connection with the Commandments, for instance, show a similarity that is striking, and at the same time true of practically the entire book. (See pp. 47, 49).

Creiste o tuuiste por mal aguero quando oy-ste llorar al buho o cãtar la lechuza, o hazer ruydo con las vñas, o quando encontraste con aquella sauãdixilla que se llama pinahuiztli?⁴⁷

Porventura trabaxaste en Domingo de fiesta de guardar: y si trabaxaste que tanto tiempo y quantas vezes trabaxaste?

Porventura afeytastete, o adornastete, o pulistete, para que te deseasen los hombres?

Fingistete medico no siẽdolo sin ser examinado?

Cacahuateras.

Encenizaste el cacao verde, o reboluistelo cõ tierra blãca para q pareciesse bueno?

The author's questions on the Sixth Commandment are perhaps a bit more elegantly worded than those of Molina, but otherwise they are the same. There are also special admonitions for *Caciques principales, tequitatos, y mayordomos*.⁴⁸

The *Hvehvetlahtolli* of Baptista, published in 1601, contains a number of allocutions in Nahuatl, which Indian parents or civil authorities used to deliver on solemn occasions, such as births, marriages, deaths, etc. There are also a number of exhortations of priests to Indians.⁴⁹

Following are a number of titles to be found in the book:

Platica que haze el padre al hijo auisandole, o amonestandole que sea bueno.

⁴⁷ Molina gives as a definition for this term: *cierto escarauajo q teniã por aguero*.

⁴⁸ *Tequitato* is a corruption of *tequitlato*, which Molina describes as *mandon o merino, o el que tiene cargo de repartir el tributo o el tequio alos maceuales*.

⁴⁹ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, no. 201.

Respuesta que haze el hijo a su padre.

Platica que haze la madre a la hija avisandole.

Respuesta que haze la hija ala madre, dandole las gracias.

Amonestacion que el padre haze al hijo quando aun es pequeñuelo.

Platica que el padre haze el [sic] hijo quando se quiere casar.

Platica que haze el marido ala muger.

Respuesta de la muger al marido.

Platica que una señora haze visitando a otra, o la que visita a la principal señora.

Platica alos principales de Tlaxcalla a cerca del gouierno de su Ciudad paraque gouiernen bien su republica, puedese aplicar a qualquier otro pueblo.

Platica de como ha de curar el medico y cõsolar al enfermo.

A typical exhortation is that of a mother to her daughter :

Pues amada hija, no seas pereçosa, ni descuydada, mas se diligente, y limpia, y concierta la casa.

Sirue, y da agua manos a tu marido, y ten cuydado de hazer bien el pan.

Y las cosas de su casa. Pon las como conuiene apartadas, cada qual en su lugar, y no como quiera mal puestas.

. . . por donde hija fueres, ve con mesura, y honestidad, no apresurada, ni riendote, ni mirando de lado como a medio ojo, ni mires a los que vienen de frente.

The historian, Jerónimo de Mendieta, gave his approval to the *Libro dela Miseria y breuedad de la vida del hombre*, Mexico, 1604. It is a series of *tratados* on Human Miseries, Final Judgment, Tor-

tures of Hell and the Glory of Paradise—all in Nahuatl, with a final table of authorities consulted.

The *Vida y milagros del bienaventurado Sanct Antonio de Padua*, Mexico, 1605, also received the approval of Father Mendieta, who was then at Xochimilco. Mendieta compares Juan Baptista to a *fecundissima Aueja . . . sacando cada dia nuevos panales de miel spiritual . . .*

Speaking of the origin of this material, which he translated into Mexican, Fray Juan says:

Sacose esta vida del bienaventurado Sanct Antonio de Padua, de la que escriuio el Reuerendissimo fray Marcos de Lisboa, Obispo de Oporto de la misma Orden, y de otros memoriales, y chronicas de la Orden.

Aside from the *Advertencias*, a work containing very little Nahuatl, the largest production of Juan Baptista was *A Jesu Christo S. N. Ofrece Este Sermonario en lengua Mexicana*, Mexico, 1606. A part of the prologue of the *Sermonario* has been quoted (p. 67). In spite of the fact that the book, as it has come to us, is of more than 700 pages, the writer insists that he expected to print a second part. Several sermons are given in Mexican for each of the four Sabbaths of Advent, with marginal summaries in Spanish, and two lists of principle points discussed.

During the 16th century Nahuatl proper names were often written in the accounts of the historians of the period. We find many interesting examples of Spanish orthography in the works of Cortés,

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, López de Gómara, Ixtlil-xochitl, Dorantes de Carranza, Cervantes de Salazar, etc.

Certain collections of documents, such as the publications of Antonio Peñafiel, *Colección de documentos para la historia mexicana*, also afford cases of the transcription of Nahuatl words by means of the Spanish alphabet.

An interesting MS. *Book of Marriages* of the early 17th century, which had been kept in the Convent of Quauhquechola, and which is now in the possession of the Library of the Museum of the American Indian, exhibits unusual spellings of Spanish words and names.

III

NAHUATL WRITINGS OF THE XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES

1. *Religious Works*

Following the works of Juan Baptista, a division may be made conveniently between the grammatical and the religious products in Nahuatl, for, with few exceptions, the priests either devoted their attention to the language itself, or to the translation of religious doctrines for the enlightenment of the Indians.

The following authors seem to have been more interested in writing Mexican that was to be used in the propagation of Christianity.

JUAN DE MIJANGOS

A native of Antequera,¹ Mijangos became a member of the Augustinians in Mexico City. With the help of Augustín de la Fuente,² he composed an *Espeio Divino en lengua mexicana* in 1607, and in 1624 there issued from the press of Juan de Alcázar his *Primera parte del sermonario dominical*.

The first mentioned work consists of sermons by Sabbaths, based on biblical quotations, and consti-

¹ In the prologue of the *Espeio*, Mijangos says, "Bien pudiera seruirme de escusa, no ser la Lengua materna, y auer nascido en Antequera del valle de Guaxaca donde se habla poca lengua Mexicana."

² Cf. remarks of Juan Baptista concerning this native, p. 67.

tutes a book of some 560 pages. There are marginal references in Latin. The *Sermonario* is a similar production.

MARTÍN LEÓN

This native of Mexico took the vows of the Dominican Order and professed in 1574.³

His *Camino del cielo en la lengua mexicana* (1611) contains a reproof of idolatry, a *calendario mexicano*, two *confesionarios* that are very similar to those of Molina; methods for making testaments, ways of saying the Rosary, and an *arte de bien morir*.

It was the purpose of Leon in giving the Mexican calendar to make it possible for the missionaries to know on what Catholic feast days the Indians had held celebrations in times of their ancient religion, so that they might use the occasions to advantage.

While discussing the term *teotlacatl*, which he advocated as a translation of *Persona Diuina*, the writer gives other terms of the sort.

. . . y viêdo que el Demonio entiende, le llaman Tlacatecolotl determinandole con aquel adiunto, para que se entienda del, y no de otro. Y por que los Angeles entienden (a distincion de los hombres a quien llaman Talticpactlaca) les llaman Ylhuicactlacatl.

Advice on the pronunciation and representation of the glottal stop is to be found in the prologue of this work:

Para hablar con perfection la lengua Mexicana y escriuilla se ha de aduertir, que ay algunos vocablos que tienen un saltillo, o suspenso

³ Medina, *Imprenta*, II, p. 54.

agudo, el qual para pronunciallo perfectamente, les han puesto unos .h. como ahmotzin, tlahtlacolli, manehnenque, quimihtalhuia, ahtlei, y otros muchos,⁴ los quales si se dexa el saltillo, pronuncianse impropriamente y si se pone la .h. hablase serranamente, como Tlaxcaltecas y chulultecas, q es peor lengua que serrana, y para euitar este inconueniente he instituydo cinco letras vocales con unas virgulas o acentos, para solo denotar estos saltillos o suspensos, à, è, ì, ò, ù . . .

A collection of sermons classified by the Sabbaths in Advent was published by this author in 1614 under the title, *Primera parte del sermonario del tiempo de todo el año*.

BARTOLOMÉ ALVA

The *Confessionario mayor y menor en lengua mexicana* of this Mexican writer is interesting in that many answers are given to the traditional questions based on the Commandments; also because Alva presents many concerning superstitions related to the ancient beliefs.

Ye quexquich cahuitl in otimoyolcuiti ca ye zexihuitl ye òxihuitl, &c.

Tlen motequiuh, tlen moficio? Tlen ictimotlayecoltia, R. Ca ni Gouernador Macalde &c.

Quanto tiempo à que te confessaste. R. Ha vn año, dos, tres, &c.

En que entiêdes? Qual es tu oficio, en que ganas de comer? R. Soy Gouernador Alcalde, &c . . .

As creydo, y tenido por cierta alguna supersticion, o seta, de las que dexaron dichas tus mayores, los viejos. R. Si, l, no.

⁴ The spelling *muncho* occurs quite often in this work of León. The pronunciation indicated is very common in parts of Mexico and Southwestern United States.

Tienes hasta oy algunos idolillos de Chalchihuite? R. Si, l. no,

Las sacas al Sol a calētar, emboluiendolos en blādos algodones, con mucha veneracion, y respeto? R. Si, l. no.

FRANCISCO LORRA BAQUIO

As a member of the Dominican Order, Lorra Baquio spent some time as parochial priest at Tampamolón in the Huasteca, and at Atlacomulco. He died in 1669.⁵

The *Manual mexicano* (1634) of this friar was to serve for the administration of the Sacraments in Mexican. He included a number of questions on the Ten Commandments.

There is evidence in the *manual* of the fact that the Indians of Nahuatl speech often referred to the Spaniards as *Caxtilteca* or *Caxtillantlaca*. The terms occur quite frequently.

JUAN OSSORIO

Apologia y declaracion en dialogos, Mexico, 1653.

Al lector

Pero yo no soy de parecer, que à los indios se les prediquen las cosas de la Fè trayendoles razones, ò comparaciones, para darselas à entender: por que la gente de bajo entendimiento se le deue persuadir à creer las cosas de la Fè Catholica por la Authoridad del que nos las revelò, que es Dios . . .

The author suggests that confessors permit the Indians to unburden their souls of all the sins that

⁵ Medina, *Imprenta*, II, p. 154.

they may have committed, then they are asked the usual questions.

PEDRO DE CONTRERAS

Manual de administrar los santos sacramentos, 1638.

De Sacramento Baptismi.

Si dixeren los Padrinos que ya le hecharon la agua por que el niño estuuu en peligro de morirse, pregunte el Ministro si el q lo baptizò dixo todas las santas palabras como lo manda nuestra santa Madre Iglesia; y dirà, y preguntà el Sacerdote desta manera.

The question follows in Mexican and Spanish, the word *Teotlatolli* being used for *santas palabras*. Then is given the Latin form for baptizing. Each of the Sacraments is treated in like manner.

BALTHAZAR DEL CASTILLO

This writer turned out a catechism written entirely in Nahuatl, and dated at S. Luis Obispo Vexotlan, 1683, as well as a *Cartilla mayor* (1691), and a *Luz, y guia de los ministros evangelicos* (1694).

The *cartilla* is a simple list of the Persignum Crucis, Credo, Ave Maria, Pater Noster, Commandments, etc., while in the second production, contrary to the general custom of giving the Mexican translation of the Christian Doctrine on the same page as the Spanish, the author has explained the Pater Noster, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Mortal Sins, the Works of Mercy, etc., first in Spanish and then in Nahuatl.

In the Mexican text on the Last Supper and its observance, we find such terms as *Caxtilan tlaxcalli* (bread as distinguished from tortillas), and *Caxtilan vino*. The word *Teotl* is used, as well as *teotl Dios*.

MANUEL PÉREZ

Pérez, who was for 22 years professor of Mexican in the National University, took quite an interest in controversies over the translation of formulas of the Christian Doctrine into Nahuatl. He came to the conclusion that baptism was not certain if given in Nahuatl, since the form that had been used in that language simply meant *I throw water on you*. He discusses this and other aspects of the application of Christianity among the natives in his *Farol Indiano y Guia de Curas de Indios*, Mexico, 1713.

The doubt that this priest experienced concerning the expediency of asking the Indians a long list of questions about their sins has already been mentioned (see above, p. 33). He concludes that the confessor should use discretion:

En la raçon de dudar dixé, que pudiera temerse que el Indio abriesse los ojos a cosas que no sabe: Aqui entra la prudencia del Confessor en el modo de preguntar . . . Vg. A vna donzella, no se le ha de preguntar lo que a vna mundana, o a vna casada. [p. 19]

Pérez gives a model *confessionario* in which he reduces to a minimum the long list of traditional questions on the Commandments. We find these two questions as illustrations of the simplification of the long lists of Molina and Baptista. The first is on

the First Commandment and the second on the Seventh:

Has creído en sueños o en el canto de las Aves o en el rumor de la lumbre?

En tu venta, o en la plaza has engañado a alguno, no dándole por su dinero lo que es bueno, o quitado le algo a cada vno aunque sea poco?

MARCOS DE SAAVEDRA

Confessionario breve activo, y passivo en lengua mexicana.

An edition of this book appeared in Mexico in 1746. It is of the same type as the works of Molina, but ends with this admonition:

No es menester preguntar todo lo que esta aqui, sino solamente lo que fuere necessario, segun la calidad de las personas, y su confession.

Preceding the many reprints of the early religious works, we have the *Promptuario manual mexicano* of IGNACIO DE PAREDES, which was published in 1759. In the same year this author brought forth a compendium of the grammar of Carochi.

2. *Grammars and Vocabularies*

During the second and third centuries of New Spain's colonial period, though the necessity for learning Mexican was not so great, there nevertheless was a good deal of interest in the language. Molina's dictionary was evidently still widely used, as it is today, but it was undoubtedly a little cumbersome for practical purposes. Several grammarians under the leadership of Horacio Carochi un-

dertook to write *artes* of the Nahuatl tongue. The following are the most representative writers of the period.

PEDRO DE ARENAS

Vocabulario manual de las lenguas castellana y mexicana.

The first edition of this book bears no date on the title page, but the approbation of the Viceroy, Luis de Velasco, is dated 1611. The dictionary was committed to Juan de Torquemada for examination and approval.

Medina estimates that there have been 17 editions of this handy little vocabulary.⁶ In 1862, it appeared in Paris under the title: *Guide de la Conversation en Trois Langues: Français, Espagnol et Mexicaine, Revu et Traduit en Français par M. Charles Romey.*

The author states in the prologue that he had collected words and phrases that he found necessary to use in his travels about the country, and had had them translated by an interpreter.

The 1611 edition of this work in the possession of the New York Public Library has a MS. vocabulary in the hand-writing of the period opposite the printed terms. This word list seems to be in a language of the Uto-Aztecan group, probably Cora or Tepehuanan.

The following items found in the manual of Are-

⁶ Cf. *Imprenta*, No. 256.

nas illustrate the Mexican pronunciation of Spanish words taken over in the early days.⁷

| | | |
|-------------|-------|------------------------------|
| ajos | ..... | <i>Caxtillan ajox</i> |
| mançanas | ..... | <i>montzanex</i> |
| plantanos | ..... | <i>polatanox</i> |
| sauanas | ..... | <i>cama tilmahtli</i> |
| platos | ..... | <i>çoquiplatos</i> |
| corral | ..... | <i>calli (o) colai</i> |
| lienço | ..... | <i>Caxtillan tilmahtli</i> |
| las bestias | ..... | <i>mulatin (o) cahuyotin</i> |
| vn pollo | ..... | <i>ce poyox</i> |
| coles | ..... | <i>colex</i> |
| seda | ..... | <i>icpaxela</i> |

DIEGO DE GALDO GUZMÁN

In 1640 this Augustinian was professor of Mexican and Otomí in the National University. His *Arte Mexicana* was published in 1642.

Galdo's *advertencias* regarding the *saltillo* are practically word for word those of Martín León (see p. 74).

HORACIO CAROCHI (1580-1662)

Until 1632, Carochi devoted himself to teaching in his native Italy, coming to Mexico in that year as a member of the Jesuit Order.

In the *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, Mexico, 1645, Carochi adopts a system of accentuation which had been suggested but not used by Rincón. He also gives the best description and analysis this far of the glottal stop.⁸

⁷ See also the terms used in certain "cantares" of the first years of Spanish occupation, p. 180.

⁸ An interesting description of this phoneme is later given

(') saltillo: salto, fingulto, reparo, y suspension *tàtli*. padre . . . que toda vocal final de qualquier plural de nombres, o verbos, o de qualquier preterito perfecto, y la de los nombres possessiuos acabados en *hua. e. o.* y la de algunos adverbios, o pronombres, se pronuncia con fuerça, como quien va a pronunciar la aspiracion *h.* aunq no es aspiracion; la qual no se puede dar a entender por escrito: sino que es menester oyrla pronunciar a los indios. [Cap. I]

JUAN GUERRA

Arte de la lengua mexicana segun la acostumbran hablar los indios en todo el obispado de Guadalaxara, Mexico, 1692.

Al Lector

Aunque ay muchos Artes de la lengua Mexicana no sirven para estas partes, porque la lengua Mexicana que acostumbran hablar los Naturales de ellas, es muy diferente, que la mera Mexicana, porque ya le añaden syllabas a los vocablos, ya se los quitan, y muchas vezes son en el todo diferêtes. Por cuya causa obligado de la obediencia determine el destinarme a escribir este Arte conforme la hablan los Indios en estas partes, siguiendo en el en quanto pudiere el Arte de Antonio de Nebrija.

Guerra was a native of Andalusia. Certain of his observations on the pronunciation of Mexican to-

by Chimalpopocatl Galicia in his *Silabario de Idioma Mexicano*, p. 3:

"La señal (') acento grave, sirve para el saltillo, v.g.: *Tàtli*, padre. El saltillo se verifica pronunciando la sílaba que tiene la señal como por salto, es decir suspeniendo repentina y momentáneamente el aliento, dando además con éste un golpecito muy suave en el pecho a manera de hipo . . ."

gether with those of other grammarians of the 17th and 18th centuries are given in the second part of the present study.

MANUEL PÉREZ

Arte del idioma mexicano, Mexico, 1713.

Al Lector

En este Arte, amigo Lector . . . te ofresco vna cosa nueva, porque aunque se han impresso muchos de doctrissimos authores, se han acabado; y a mas de esto, imprimieron quando no avia en el Idioma algunas novedades, que yo he advertido (o si las havia no querian ponerlas) . . . Solo sè decir, que el Capitulo de las Pronunciaciones, me costò el estar en el retiro en la Celda haziendo gestos, y visages para descubrir la cituacion de cada pronunciacion, la qual es tan necessaria en el Idioma, que el que no ta tuviere, aunque sepa mucho Mexicano, no le servirà; y aunque es difícil de adquirir si Dios no la dà, no es impossible, pues trabaxando en dicho Capitulo muchos de los estudiantes que me han oído en la Vniversidad, han conseguido la buena pronunciacion.

CARLOS DE TAPIA ZENTENO

Arte novissima de lengua mexicana, Mexico, 1753.

This professor of the University of Mexico also wrote a grammar of the Huastecan language.⁹ He objects to certain aspects of the traditional spelling of Mexican, which he refers to as *venerables vestigios de nuestros mayores*, but concludes:

. . . pero avremos de conformarnos con lo que hallamos, assi porque de otra manera no podremos entender a los Autores, que assi la quisieron escribir.

⁹ See below, p. 119.

JOSÉ AGUSTÍN ALDAMA Y GUEVARA

Arte de la lengua mexicana, Mexico, 1754.

The *parecer* of Juan Francisco de Torres for this book at once recommends the volume and names the sources for Aldama's precepts.

. . . en este se hallan, con admirable claridad, copia y methodo, todos aquellos preceptos y doctrinas, todas aquellas reglas y primores, que enseñaron los Alvas, y Rincones, los Carochis y los Avilas, los Gastelus, y Vetancurtes, con los Molucas: que no son otras que las que vemos diestramente practicadas por Fr. Martin de Leon, por Fr. Juan Baptista, por Fr. Juan de la Anunciacion, por Fr. Juan Mijangos, por el R. Gutierrez Tanco, por D. Bartholome de Alva, por los RR. PP. Molina y Perez y por otros muchos nobles escriptores que han enriquecido las Bibliotecas con muchos tomos.

GERÓNIMO THOMÁS DE AQUINO CORTÉS Y ZEDEÑO.

Arte, Vocabulario y Confessionario en el Idioma Mexicano, como se usa en el Obispado de Guadalajara, Mexico, 1765.

Prologo

. . . Aqui pues, ô en este Obispado de Guadalajara, en donde escribo, està el Idioma Mexicano muy viciado, y no con aquella puridad, que conserva aun en algunos lugares vecinos a Mexico: . . .

The author gives several rules for the "mera" Mexican language, and then points out differences that are to be noted in the language of the region of Guadalajara, admitting the influence of Vetancurt and Guerra.

JOSÉ CARRANZA

Arte donde se contienen todos aquellos rudimentos y principios preceptivos que conducen a la lengua mexicana, Mexico, 1900 (Museo Nacional).

According to Viñaza (No. 1082), Carranza was a native of Pátzcuaro, Michoacán. He died in Querétaro in 1813. The date of composition of the grammar is not known. The MS. existed in the collection of José Ramírez.

Noteworthy among other followers of Molina and Carochi are the following grammarians of this period: Agustín Vetancourt, Antonio Vázquez Gas-telú, Francisco Avila, and Ignacio de Paredes.

IV

OTOMÍ

It is now believed that Otomí, once the language of a vast region north of Mexico City, is to be placed in the same group with Chiapanecan of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, along with other minor languages of Mexico.¹

Otomí is still spoken in many parts of Hidalgo, México, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, etc. Other members of this group of languages are the Pame, the Mazahua, and the Matlaltzincan or Pirinda.²

The first work in applying the Spanish letters to this most difficult tongue was apparently done by the Franciscan Alonso Rengel and the Augustinian Melchor Vargas. The former came to the New World in 1529 from the monastery of San Lucar. He was guardian at Tula for a time.³ Vargas wrote a *doctrina cristiana* in Otomí, Mexican, and Spanish, which was published in Mexico in 1576 (Medina, Imp., no. 76).

All who dealt with the language seem to have experienced a great deal of difficulty in adequately representing certain aspects of its sound system. Nicolás León speaks of this difficulty in his introduction

¹ Cf. H. Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations*, p. 34.

² Cf. Thomas. *Indian Lang.*, pp. 46 and 48.

³ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, I, p. 390.

to the work of one of these writers, Pedro de Cáceres, in these terms :

De todas las lenguas indias de México, la que más ha resistido la transcripción a nuestro alfabeto, ha sido la otomí ; y cuantos ensayos en este sentido se han hecho, han resultado no sólo imperfectos sino hasta ridículos.

Nevertheless, the various methods employed by those who represented the sounds of this language, and the explanations that accompanied many of the treatises, as well as the protests of writers of the 17th and 18th centuries against the use of the traditional letters, show changes that have occurred in the pronunciation of Spanish since the first works on the language were written.

An anonymous MS. vocabulary of the Otomí language is to be found in the New York Public Library copy of the Gilberti Spanish-Tarascan dictionary of 1559 (see below, p. 95). The Otomí terms are written in with the printed words set down by Gilberti. The handwriting is of a very early date.

In 1907 Nicolás León published the *Arte de la lengua otomí* by Pedro de Cáceres. The original title of this grammar was apparently :

En el nombre del señor, comienza la arte de la lengua otomi cogida de las migajas de los padres benemeritos della, y del cornadillo. Ofrecido por el menor de los menores a gloria y alabanza de nño. señor Jesu xpo.

León conjectures that the work was written about 1580, and classifies the writing as *letra gótica del siglo XVI*. Accompanying the grammar is a *clave*

para entender la pronunciación figurada de la lengua otomí, in which we find the following observations concerning pronunciation:

Esta lengua carese de las 4 letras de nuestro a b c, que son *f. l. r. s.* Tambien confunden algunas vezes la *c, q, g.* y la *d. t.* y la *p.* y la *b.* pronunciandolas con mas o menos fuerza.

Tienen otra por las narizes como los gan-gosos entre nosotros; ponerse ha encima de la silaba que demande esta pronunciacion, esta señal, vt. *tanapāti. nottī.* Otras veces se detienen un poquito entre silaba y silaba; poner se han donde se haze esta mora estos: vt. *tana: ēti, mandar; ta: onni, preguntar.*

Nothing is known of Cáceres, except that he was guardian at the Franciscan monastery in Querétaro.

During the latter part of the 18th century there appeared an anonymous work with the title, *Luces del othomí*. The author had compiled the observations of several writers of the 17th and 18th centuries, among whom were Horacio Carochi, whose Mexican grammar was published in 1645; Eusebio de Escamilla, Juan Sánchez de la Baquera, and certain padres of the Hospital Real of Mexico City. In 1752 the author began to consult manuscripts relative to the language, and the work of Neve y Molina (see below) seems to be the last that he had examined.

FRANCISCO MIRANDA

Catecismo breve en lengua otomí, Mexico, 1759.

An Otomí version of the Padre Nuestro, Ave Maria, Credo, Salve, Mandamientos, Por la Señal, etc.

We find interesting borrowed words in *Anxè*, *Mixa*, and *Ximanêhê* (angel, misa, semana).

LUIS DE NEVE Y MOLINA

A grammar, dictionary, and rules of orthography were combined into one volume by this professor of the Seminario Tridentino. His grammar was later translated into Italian and French (see bibliography).

ANTONIO GUADALUPE RAMÍREZ

The *Breve compendio de todo lo que debe saber, y entender el christiano* of this author was printed in Mexico in 1785, but in an endeavor to correctly represent the unusual phonetic pattern of Otomí, Ramírez had special characters made in Madrid.

From the prologue:

Estas zelosas disposiciones de aquellos Venerables Padres, no han podido tener efecto, ni Yo la satisfaccion de obedecerles cumplidamente, a causa de no haver en el Reyno moldes correspondientes, hasta que valiendome de Amigos, y Bienechores, se abrio fielmente toda la Letra en la Corte de Madrid.

Certain of the principles of Ramírez were used to advantage by Joaquín López Yepes in his *Declaración de la doctrina cristiana en lengua otomí* (1826). It is of value to note that the latter, a Spaniard, transcribed certain sounds of Otomí differently than the former, a native of Mexico. These

observations, with others of the authors on Otomí, are considered later.

Besides the usual formulas, the *doctrina* of Ramírez contains a number of prayers in the two languages.

V

MATLALTZINCAN

In 1930 the eminent Americanist, Rudolf Schuller, revealed the discovery of a MS. in the Matlaltzincan or Pirinda language that had been found in a copy of Molina's *Vocabulario* of 1555 in the possession of the Library of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. He attributes the work, which is a vocabulary with definitions following those of Molina's Mexican terms, to Andrés Castro.¹

On Folio 259 v. of this Matlaltzincan vocabulary is to be found the following:

acabose a 26 d Heno anno d 1557.

ANDRÉS CASTRO (15....-1577)

Fray Andrés, a native of Burgos, was chosen for service in New Spain, and came over with other Franciscans in 1542. He was sent to the Valley of Toluca, where he worked for many years among the Matlaltzincans.²

MIGUEL DE GUEVARA

The *Arte doctrinal matlaltzinga* of Guevara was printed in 1862 in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexi-*

¹ See *An Unknown Matlatsinca Manuscript*.

² Cf. Miguel Salinas, *Andrés Castro, datos para la historia de Toluca*, Revista de Antonio Alzate, XXXIX, 1920, pp. 203-217.

cana de Geografía y Estadística (Ix, pp. 197-260). It bears the date 1638.

DIEGO DE BASALENQUE (1577-1651)

Basalenque, a native of Salamanca, came to New Spain quite young. He joined the Augustinian Order in 1593, taught theology in Zacatecas and Valladolid (Michoacán), and wrote *artes* of the Tarascan and Matlaltzincan languages, besides a history of the Province of his order in Michoacán.³

The following original manuscripts of Basalenque are in the John Carter Brown Library:

Arte de la lengua matlaltzinga, 1640.

Arte de la lengua matlalçinga, *abrebiado* (bound with above).

Vocabulario de la lengua matlaltzinga buelto en la castellana, 1642.

Vocabulario de la lengua castellana buelto en la matlaltzinga, 1642.

These writings on the Matlaltzincan language are all important for the present work, especially since Dr. Schuller recently published notes on the modern tongue.⁴ The language is almost extinct.

By comparing the words secured by Dr. Schuller with the same ones as written by Castro, Guevara, and Basalenque, one perceives that there have been certain consonantal changes in the pronunciation of Spanish.

³ *Historia de la provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán, del orden de N. P. S. Agustín*, Mexico, 1673.

⁴ *Los indios matlatsinca y su lengua*, *Ethnos*, 3a ép., I, no. 5, May 1925, pp. 105-114.

VI

TARASCAN

The Tarascan language of Michoacán, always referred to by early writers as the *lengua de Mechuacan*, shows no great amount of subdivision. It is still spoken in much of Michoacán and in districts of Querétaro, México, and Guerrero.¹

The works of Maturino Gilberti, Juan Bautista Lagunas, Juan de Medina Plaza, Diego de Basalenque, and Angel Serra have been examined for our work, as well as some of the material on the language written during the nineteenth century. The orthography of Gilberti was employed by the other four early writers, with slight modifications. The language in question has an intricate system of syllabants that might remind one of Basque. Gilberti gives detailed descriptions of these sounds in terms of letters of the Spanish alphabet, and scores those who had attempted to portray the tongue before him for their carelessness.

MATURINO GILBERTI

Having aligned himself with the Franciscan Order in Aquitania, Gilberti came to New Spain in 1542. He evidently went directly to Michoacán, for he was in Mexico City in 1558 to see to the publication of his books on the Tarascan language. He was guard-

¹ Cf. Thomas, *Indian Languages*, p. 51.

ian at Zinapécuaro and later at Tzintzuntzan, where he died in 1585.²

Due to the efforts of envious fellow clergymen, one of Gilberti's books (*Dialogo de doctrina*) was forbidden to be sold for a time. In a *real cédula* of 1571 the following is stated concerning him:

Nos somos informado que entre los religiosos de la Orden de San Francisco que residen en el obispado de Mechoacán desa Nueva España, están fray Maturino Gilberti, y fr. Gil Clemente y fr. Juan Gerónimo, . . . demás de ser de nación franceses, no se tiene buena satisfacción de su vida y exemplo y que convernía que no estuviesen en esa tierra, . . .³

Another royal decree asked that it be determined if he was actually needed, and if he would be missed. Other Churchmen had spoken a good word for the Frenchman, for he remained.

Fray Maturino went to great pains to reveal correctly the intricate system of sibilant fricatives and affricatives of the Tarascan language, so his precepts were quite closely followed by others who later wrote on the same tongue.

Gilberti's *Arte de la lēgua de Michuacā* was printed in Mexico in 1558.

Aviso primero

Muy gran peligro seria dezir que esta lengua se puede escreuir y pronunciar como quiera, y que poco mas o menos se entiende con qles quiera letras, y para que este error parezca mas ala clara notar se han las reglas siguientes.

. . . Esta lengua carece de muchas syllabas

² Cf. García Icazbalceta, *Obras*, Bib. Aut. Mex., III, 296.

³ Apud Medina, *Imprenta*, I, p. 123.

đ que vsamos en el romance castellano, assi como son las siguientes.

Fa fe fi fo fu. Ia je ji jo ju. Lla lle lli llo llu. La le li lo lu. Y por niño dizen nino, o niya, y por Ysabel Xapera. Sa se si so su. Y assi por dezir Francisco dizen Parecescu: y por Iacobo dizen Xacupa: y por lluuia dizen luuia: y por Luys, nuis: y por Sãcto Xanto, y por cauallo cauayo. La. ua. en esta lengua siempre es disiunta: y todo esto en el comun dela gête: mas los ladinos hablã muy bien: assi como los Españoles.

An incomplete copy of Gilberti's second production, the *Thesoro spiritval en lengua de Mechuacã*, is in the possession of the John Carter Brown Library. The manual contains some of the essentials of the *Doctrina xpiana*, and several prayers, as well as a *devocionario*, an *examen mayor de conciencia*, and sermons on the Ten Commandments.

The *Uocabulario en lengua de Mechuacan* of this writer came from the press in 1559. The first part of the dictionary is Tarascan-Spanish, while the second begins with the title, *Aqui comienza el Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y, Mechuacana*. A copy of the book now in the New York Public Library has a well written marginal word list in Otomí corresponding to the printed Spanish of the second section. Reference is made to this MS. in connection with literature in Otomi (see above, p. 87).

An examination of Gilberti's dictionary reveals that the combinations *Xi* and *Chi* do not occur. Instead of the former he uses *Si* and in place of the other, *Ts*. It will be remembered that in his *Arte*

he stated that the syllables *sa, se, si, so, su* were not pronounced by the natives.

The following list of words will serve to illustrate certain combinations used by this author to represent sibilant fricatives, affricatives and the aspirated release so common to the language:

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Ahtziri</i> |trigo o mayz. |
| <i>Caczcunstani</i> |đrribar o đstruir obra . . . |
| <i>Chencez</i> |muy bien o mucho bien. |
| <i>Pampzpeni</i> |amar. |
| <i>Itsi thzirapeti</i> |agua fria. |
| <i>Nahaxe</i> |que tal, o como esta. |
| <i>Thatsini</i> |frisoles, o hauas. |
| <i>Tzacapu</i> |piedra. |
| <i>Thzarapeni</i> |estar sentada assi en casa. |
| <i>Thsirini</i> |caxcara de hauas o frisoles. |
| <i>Xaxani</i> |maxcar. |
| <i>Sini</i> |diente o dientes. |

Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz gave his approval to the fourth book of Gilberti, which was published in 1559. This was a *Dialogo de doctrina christiana en la lengua đ Mechuacã*.

The *Thesoro spiritval de pobres* of 1575 besides giving a *cartilla para los niños*, reviews the Pater Noster, the Credo, the Salve Regina, the Ave Maria, the Seven Mortal Sins, etc., *en latin, romance e yndio*.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE LAGUNAS

There seems to be very little material available concerning the life of this Spaniard; however, on

page 105 of his *Arte y diccionario* (1574)⁴ we find the following:

Y si para dar a entender lo que pretendo: pusiere vocablos, como Resquebrajaduras y pinaza que son las hojas del pino, despues de caydas y secas: tenconten, y otros semejantes de mi tierra, no se espanten, pues soy nascido en Castilla la vieja.

Lagunas has some interesting remarks to make concerning the letters that are used in writing the *lengua de Mechuacan*:

Tienen estos Yndios veynte y vna letras . . . Tienenlas todas en principio y medio de diction sacando B, D, F, G, I, R, que no tienen vocablos que se comiencen en ellas y totalmente carecen de F. L. Y para que se quede mejor en la memoria notese: que no tenian diction que començasse en B, y assi no tenian Baptismo, en D pues no tenian ni conocian a Dios. En F pues no tenian Fe. En G, pues no tenian gracia. En I, pues carecian de la verdadera justicia. En L, pues no tenian ley de natura, ni de scriptura, ni de gracia. En R, porque carecian de regimiento regla y razon pues tan tyranica y cruel y ciegamente biuian. Plega a Dios nuestro Señor que siempre le guarden la fe y ley que le prometieron, aunque su lengua natural, de la F, y L, perpetuamente carezca. [p. 1]

Nolo volo del comico de Terencion . . . que la sierpe, pues guarda su S. y las ranas la K, y el cuchi la Q. y los toros por mayo la M. y los perros al arrufaldar guardan su R. y la O. que no quiero dezir quien contrapuntea con ella. Sino acabar en la A. que es principio de los niños que lloran, y la pronuncian muy

⁴ See reprint of Nicolás León in *Anales del Museo Michoacano*, II, 1889.

clara: y quasi tanto como la C. los çaceosos.
Y la B. las ouejas.

Lagunas follows the system of spelling, and the general form for presenting his principles of grammar, of Gilberti, his predecessor. He had evidently noted the absence of the digraph *ch* before the vowel *i* in the works of Gilberti, for he has to say concerning this combination:

Y le falta *Chi* solamente paresceme, que segun su pronunciacion, se ha de escreuir, K y pi Kipimeni. Y no Quipiquipimeni, Kypindirani, Kypini, . . . Y pues lo dicho no pueden differenciar la C. con H. ni P sin H. ni faltando K . . .

It will be remembered that Gilberti used *ch* before all vowels except *i*. Before the latter he wrote *ts*. The intended pronunciation is revealed in the forms *Vatsi* and *Vache* (boy), which are both found in his dictionary. Lagunas has taken this omission of *chi* to mean that his predecessor neglected to take into account a special sound that to him differed from that represented by *qui*. Lagunas began to use K for this.

JUAN DE MEDINA PLAZA

Nicolás León in his *Adiciones a la bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* states that nothing is known about Medina Plaza. Nevertheless, from the title page of the *Doctrinalis Fidei in Michuacanēsium Indorum Linguam*, it is evident that he was an Andalusian, that he was superior at Tacámbaro, and a member of the Augustinian Order.

The above volume was printed in 1575 by Antonio Espinosa. In 1578 from the press of Antonio Ricardo came another volume. The section printed last is volume I.

From the colophon of the Brown Library copy:

Finitum est opvs primi tomi doctrinalis fidei ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis dei eisusq', sãctae matris virginis Mariae. Dic. 17. mensis Februarij Anno a Christo nato. 1578. In aedibus Antonij Ricardi in Ciuitate Mexicana, juxta aedes Apostoloru Petri & Pauli.

From the *licencias* and *aprobaciones* of the volume of 1578, we learn that permission to print had been given in 1574 and in 1575, before the publication of volume II.

The text of the *Doctrinalis* is entirely Tarascan. The system of spelling of Medina Plaza is essentially that of Gilberti.

DIEGO BASALENQUE (1577-1651)

The *Arte de le lengua tarasca* of Basalenque was not published until 1714.

From the prologue:

Después de aver estudiado la lengua Matlalcinga, y compuesto Arte, y Vocabulario de ella: tuve deseo de estudiar con cuidado la Lengua Tarasca por dos Artes, que compusieron el R. P. Fr. Maturino Gilberti; y el R. P. Fr. Juan Baptista. Y aviendolos visto con cuidado, juzgué, que comprehendian todo lo necessario para saber la lengua: mas notè (â mi corto parecer) que pudieran tener alguna mas claridad en la disposicion y assi para mi saber, y repassar, dispuse este arte, en el modo que lleva, aviendo añadido algo â los otros dos.

ÁNGEL SERRA

The *Manual de administrar los santos sacramentos* of this writer first appeared in 1697, and was reprinted in 1732. Serra, who had been guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Querétaro, arranged his formulas according to the reform of Paulo V, and Urbano VIII. The Tarascan spelling is that of Gilberti.

VII

ZAPOTECAN

In the State of Oaxaca, where thousands speak native languages, are to be found most of the members of the Zapotecan and Mixtecan linguistic families. Several attempts have been made to classify the many languages of Oaxaca. Francisco Belmar not only places most of them in one group, but aligns this stock with the Otomí.¹ Orozco y Berra had made Zapotecan and Mixtecan members of the same family,² and Thomas and Swanton, after objecting to this grouping, finally place them together on the map accompanying the *Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America*. Jaime de Angulo evidently does not consider them related.³ Judging by the limited lists of words that he has checked over with the natives, the writer does not believe that they are related; however, a thorough study of the morphology of the tongues will be necessary to establish their status.

Several studies have been made of the Zapotecan language that is spoken in the vicinity of Oaxaca. Since the works of the Spanish priests of the Colonial Period, there have been written grammars and

¹ Cf. *Familia mixteco-zapoteca y sus relaciones con el otomí*.

² *Geografía de las lenguas*, p. 43.

³ *The Linguistic Tangle of Oaxaca*, Language, I, 1925.

treatises not only by the natives of the region but also by North Americans. The articles of Jaime de Angulo, Frederick Starr, Paul Radin, and Franz Boas have dealt with certain aspects of this language.⁴

Angulo and Radin do not seem to agree on the value of the efforts of the Spanish priests who wrote on Zapotecan in the early days. The former says:

Anyone who has seen some of the grammars published by the early friars knows that they are pretty nearly worthless from every point of view . . . fantastic grammars done on a Greco-Latin model by the good priests. I will admit that a good many Zapotecan sounds are rather puzzling to the Spanish ear and present quite a problem in phonetic transcription. But it had never occurred to me that the easiest way out of

⁴ Cf. Starr, *Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, IX, 1904. The transcriptions are by a native.

Angulo, *op. cit.*; also *Tone Patterns and Verb Forms in a Dialect of Zapotek*, *Language*, II 1926, pp. 238-251.

Radin, *The Distribution and Phonetics of the Zapotec Dialects*, *Journal de la société des Américanistes de Paris*, XVII, 1925, pp. 27-76. Also, *A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language*, *Language*, VI, 1930, pp. 64-85. The doubt that Mixtecan and Zapotecan should be grouped together has also been expressed by Mechling, *Indian Linguistic Stocks of Oaxaca*, *Amer. Anth.*, XIV, 1912, p. 645. Mechling makes eight groups of the languages of the State of Oaxaca: 1. Zapotec, 2. Mixtec, 3. Mazatec, 4. Chinantec, 5. Chontal, 6. Huave, 7. Zoque, 8. Mexican.

Certain aspects of the Zapotecan sound system are given by Dr. Boas in his *Notes on the Chatino Language of Mexico*.

the difficulty was to write something entirely different. [*Ling. Tangle*, p. 98]

Radin, in the *Preliminary Sketch* says:

A representative series of grammars, dictionaries and *confesionarios* beginning with 1578 and extending to our own time enables us to get a fairly good insight into both the phonetics and the structure of the language throughout the vicissitudes of the last 350 years

With all their defects the grammars and dictionaries written by the missionaries between 1578 and 1824 are extremely valuable. [p. 64]

In spite of Angulo's expressed opinion, many of his representations of Zapotecan and Mixtecan words resemble very closely those of the early Spanish writings. (See pp. 144, 146).

The following are the most representative writers of the Colonial Period.

JUAN DE CÓRDOBA (1503-1595)

A native of Córdoba and of a noble family, this Andalusian saw military service in Flanders and Germany and later with the expedition of Francisco Vázquez Coronado. He joined the Order of Santo Domingo in 1543, in Mexico, and five years later was sent to Oaxaca. Elected provincial, he was relieved of the office in 1570 because of severity with his subordinates. He spent all but a few of the remaining 25 years of his life in Tecuechahuaya, near Oaxaca.⁵ It is supposed that he organized his material on the Zapotecan language while there.

The work of Córdoba is extremely valuable for

⁵ Medina, *Imprenta*, p. 228.

the present study, since he not only applies the Spanish alphabet to a language so rich in sounds and regional variations, but also makes statements, that have often been quoted, concerning regional variations in the pronunciation of Spanish.

Arte en Lengva zapoteca, Mexico, 1578.

A reprint of this work was made in Morelia in 1886 under the direction of Nicolás León. An original copy exists in the John Carter Brown Library.

Córdoba devotes much attention to the intricate system of affixes of the language; otherwise, his grammar is very similar to others of the period.

The author gives an interesting account of certain of the customs and superstitions of the Indians,⁶ and of their treatment of terms brought from Spain and for which they had no equivalents.

Las cosas venidas de nuestra España que aca no auia las intitulan y llaman conforme a las cosas semejantes que aca tenian, y assi en el pueblo donde auia cosas mas semejantes a ellas mas propios eran y son los nombres, y aun cada yndio en particular las llama conforme a lo que concibe de la cosa a que mas semejan. Como al cauallo que le llamauan luego luego, pichina, porque dizen que parecia al Venado. &c. Y al Asno, pella Castilla, porque dizque parecia al conejo, y assi a los demas. [p. 25]⁷

On page 121, we find his statement concerning the Spanish of his day:

⁶ Much of this material is reprinted by Medina, *Imprenta*, I, pp. 224-227.

⁷ See Nahuatl translation of *cauallo* as given by Sahagún, above, p. 59.

Para lo segundo que apuntamos. s. que sea la causa de las distinctas pronunciaciones? de donde prouienen las dubdas? . . . Porque entre nosotros y en nuestra España es lo mesmo que los de Castilla la vieja dizen hacer, y en Toledo hazer, y dizen xugar, y en toledo jugar, Y dizen yerro y en Toledo hierro. Y dizen alagar y en Toledo halagar, y otros muchos vocablos que dexo por euitar prolixidad.

The only known copy of the *Vocabulario en lengua çapoteca* of Córdoba is in the John Carter Brown Library. The work was published in Mexico in 1578, and is Spanish-Zapotecan in order. The author has given in nearly every case more than one translation for the Spanish term, most of these are merely variations in pronunciation that exist from village to village and from individual to individual even today.

Reference is made in another place to many of the words listed by Córdoba in this large volume. Below are a few items found therein:

Aduerbio papa llamar. s. ò. heus. Haa. hee.
xx. haí. hèe. la muger. hiji.

Agraz. Pichòli yàha castilla.

Ay ay ay, quexandose. Hay hay hay. vel,
huy huyy. xxx. tch.

Alboroçar o alborotar gente.

Alfeñique. Núpipichinite castilla . . .

Arena. Yòge, yògi yòogi, yòoxe.

Asno vide bruto. Mànipella castilla [Spanish rabbit]

Dama. casi señora. Xonáxi, xonasi.

Ea vedando que no se haga algo. xxx xij.

Gallina de castilla. Père castilla, pête castilla.

Gato. Màni misto.

Gueuo. Vide vueuo.

Mayz grano, trigo de Indias. Xòoba, Xòopa,,
jòoba.

Vuessò o vueso. Chijta.

Vueuo de gallina de castilla. Chijta.

PEDRO FERIA (1524-1588)

Fray Pedro González, called Feria, because he was born in Feria, Extremadura, studied at the University of Salamanca, joined the Dominican Order and professed in 1545. He came to New Spain in 1551, his superiors sending him to Oaxaca. In 1558 he was at Yanhuitlan, and the following year went to Florida. In 1565 Father González was elected provincial, and later sent to Madrid and to Rome as procuror for the Order. He was again in Mexico in 1572.⁸

Doctrina christiana en lengua çapoteca, Mexico. 1567.

The system of spelling of this work is the same as that employed by Córdoba in his grammar and dictionary. In spite of the fact that the *Doctrina* was published 11 years before the works of Córdoba, there are reasons to believe that Feria used the system of Córdoba, and that he did not finish the *Doctrina* until shortly before its publication.

Córdoba was the first on the ground, so to speak, having reached Oaxaca in 1548 (see above). Some of the questions used by Feria in his *Doctrina* are enough like the corresponding ones in Molina's confessionary of 1565 to have been copied. Terms of

⁸ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, I, p. 164.

Nahuatl origen are used in the same cases where Molina used them. This excerpt from the explanation of the Seventh Commandment illustrates this:

Vosotros los caciqs, alcaldes y teqtlatos, pec-cays grauemente, en lleuar el trabajo y sudor delos macehuals, no pagandoles, quando he-difican vuestras casas.⁹

The usual list of prayers, Commandments and sacraments is given with explanations in Spanish and Zapotecan.

The following will serve to give an idea of the appearance of the Zapotecan language as spelled by Southern Spaniards in the Sixteenth Century.

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Solo dios es por cuyo | Citobicibe j o a n a n a |
| mandado la tierra pduze | Dios taca xitichani tizana |
| el mayze, los frisoles, | layoo peaza xobala, pi- |
| las calabças las horta- | zaala, quètola, nocuanala, |
| lizas, los arboles fruta- | yaganaxila, chela mani |
| les: y los añaes cuyas | tetago tono xipèlani. |
| carnes comemos. | |

ALONSO MARTÍNEZ

Several books in Zapotecan appeared in the 17th century, among which should be mentioned the *Manual breve y compendioso* of Alonso Martínez, which was written in 1633.

The first 36 pages of this work are devoted to a *confessionario* and translation of the Commandments, etc. The *arte* proper begins on page 37. While the author follows in general the spelling of Córdoba and Feria, he nevertheless inadvertently portrays certain aspects of his own pronunciation.

⁹ See p. 47.

FRANCISCO PACHECO DE SILVA

An interesting representation of a dialectic variation of the Zapotecan tongue is found in the *Doctrina cristiana traducida de la lengua castellana en la lengua zapoteca nexitza*, Mexico, 1687.

GASPAR DE LOS REYES

Gramatica de las lenguas zapoteca-serrana y zapoteca del valle, 1700.

The spelling used throughout this book is good testimony of the fact that the Spanish of Mexico, like that of Southern Spain, had lost certain consonantal sounds after the first settlements were made in America. Reyes, who was born in the diocese of Puebla in 1655,¹⁰ gives us such orthography as the following:

Todos que ha meresido el zeno de VSria
sehallara Vastante mente amparado . . . servi-
sio . . . Balle . . . Cierra . . . Cossa . . . bengo . . .
ziempre ba conel Vervo . . . jente . . . relazion
. . . despues que a cauo de leer . . .

In the 18th century were written the anonymous *Vocabulario castellano-zapoteco*, which was published by the Junta Columbina, Mexico, 1893 and which shows a good deal of "Cordobean" influence; and a *Cathecismo de la doctrina christiana, en lengua zapoteca del valle*, by Leonardo Levanto, Puebla, 1776.

¹⁰ Cf. Beristain y Souza, *Bib. Hisp. Amer. Sept.*

VIII

MIXTECAN

The country occupied by the Mixtecan extends eastward from the Pacific into the high mountain country of the interior. The territory lies within the states of Guerrero, Puebla, and Oaxaca, but chiefly in the last.¹

For the present study, the grammar of Antonio de los Reyes has been examined, as well as word lists from the dictionary of Francisco de Alvarado. The Library of the British Museum possesses a copy of Alvarado's work.

ANTONIO DE LOS REYES

Fray Antonio was born in Toro, in the Province of Zamora. He studied at the University of Salamanca, and came to America in 1555 as a member of the Predicadores of the Dominican Order. He died in 1603, having spent 48 years in the Mixteca.²

The *Arte en lengua mixteca* of Reyes was published in Mexico City in 1593. The author reviews many of the ancient beliefs and superstitions of the Mixtecan, and gives valuable information concerning dialectic variations of the tongue.³

¹ Cf. Mechling, *op. cit.*, p. 652.

² Medina, *Imprenta*, I, p. 299.

³ Medina reproduces much of this material (Cf. *Imprenta* I, no. 122).

FRANCISCO DE ALVARADO

According to Medina, this lexicographer was a native of Mexico.⁴ He became a member of the Dominican order in 1574.

The *Vocabulario en lengua misteca* of Alvarado had the approval of Antonio de los Reyes, and was printed in Mexico in 1593, the year in which the *arte* of the latter was published.

From the prologue :

. . . Otros dirán de otras lenguas, pero yo puedo decir de la misteca, que demás de sus varias equivocaciones, [*sic*] tiene circunstancias de tanto cuidado y estudio, que hace muy digno de estimar el trabajo de los predicadores y ministros que han podido subyugarla. En el acento varían mucho las palabras la significación, y algunas no sólo en tener o perder una tilde, pero aún en pronunciar el punto con blandura o con la voz llena, llega a tanto esta lengua, que no se contenta con la que nos dió naturaleza para pronunciar, sino que sube a las narices y dellas se vale en algunas pronunciaciones, que sin este socorro quedan faltas.⁵

Alvarado goes on to state that he had merely compiled the work of other linguists. A comparison of a limited list of words from the *arte* of Reyes with the same as written by Alvarado, shows that the same system of spelling was used.

The Catechism of Gerónimo de Ripalda was translated into Mixtecan in the form of declaraciones by Antonio Gonzáles. The book was printed in

⁴ *Imprenta*, I, p. 294.

⁵ *Apud* Medina, *Imprenta*, p. 292.

Puebla in 1719. Questions and answers are arranged in this fashion:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|
| P. | Dezid Hermano quantos Dioses ay? | Dzahuidzo ñani nadzaha sichi nuuyyan Dios yod- zica? |
| R. | Vn solo Dios ver- dadero | Dza êèñuhuni ndisañu- hun Dios. |

IX

MAYAN

The Mayan group with its twenty or more languages occupies the Peninsula of Yucatán, Tabasco, Chiapas, and sections of Central America, with an outlying member in the Huastecan of Northern Vera Cruz and Eastern San Luis Potosí.¹

Dr. Schuller has stated the belief that the Mayans at one time occupied the country along the Gulf coast between present Mayan and Huastecan territory, and that the coming of the Nahuatl-Mexicans opened a breach to the south of the present Huastecan region.²

The history of the Mayan language since the Spanish Conquest is presented by Alfred M. Tozzer in his *A Maya Grammar with Bibliography and Appraisal of the Works Noted*. Mr. Tozzer also reviews the alphabets used by the various Spanish writers throughout the centuries.³

The early efforts in Mayan linguistics have also been summed up admirably by Juan Martínez Hernández in the introduction to the *Diccionario Motul*

¹ Cf. Thomas, *Indian Lang.*, pp. 70-71 and map.

² *La patria originaria de los indios maya*.

See also—Schuller, *Notes on the Huasteca Indians of San Luis Potosí*.

³ See especially pp. 8, 139, 211, 293.

Maya Español, attributed to Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real.⁴

Luis Villalpando appears to have been the first to apply the Spanish alphabet to the Mayan language. This native of the Province of Zamora came to New Spain as a member of the Franciscan Order in 1542, going to Yucatán in 1545.

Villalpando taught the *arte* of Mayan to Diego Landa, who later became Bishop of Yucatán, and the latter perfected it to some extent, teaching other clergymen.

JUAN CORONEL (1569-1651)

The first formal grammar of the Mayan language was evidently that of Juan Coronel, a native of Torija in the Alcarria. Coronel came to Yucatán about 1590.⁵ His *Arte en lengua de Maya* was printed in Mexico in 1620, and has been reproduced in the edition of Martínez Hernández.

ANTONIO DE CIUDAD REAL

One of the most accomplished lexicographers and linguists of his time was Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real, a native of the city of his name, in the Mancha. He came to Yucatán in 1573.

López Cogolludo reports of Ciudad Real:

No solo hizo Vocabularios, que el vno empieza con la lengua Castellana, y el otro con la

⁴ Published in Mérida, 1929. The edition includes the grammar of Juan Coronel.

⁵ Coronel reports that at the time of the publication of the grammar, he had spent 27 years preaching the Gospel in Yucatán. Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, II, p. 88.

de los Indios: pero compuso vna otra tan insigne, que por su grandeza se llamò Calepino de la lengua Maya, ò Yucatheca . . .⁶

The MS. to which López Cogolludo probably refers is in the Brown Library collection, and consists of a Mayan-Spanish section of some 465 leaves, and a Spanish-Mayan part of 236. Only the first part was printed by Martínez.

Ciudad Real proved himself quite an ethnographer by the compilation of linguistic data while on a trip with Alonso Ponce through Mexico and Central America.⁷ He recorded the language spoken in each town through which they passed, reporting the Mexican language as far south as Nicaragua.

GABRIEL DE SAN BUENAVENTURA

Another important member of this group of Franciscan linguists of Yucatán was the Frenchman, Gabriel de San Buenaventura, whose *Arte de la lengua maya* was published in Mexico in 1684. Fray Gabriel is evidently the first to have issued observations on the pronunciation of the letters that had been used by his predecessors in representing Mayan sounds.

In 1746 the grammar of Fray BELTRÁN DE SANTA ROSA appeared.

All of these grammarians were imbued not only with the spirit of Antonio de Nebrija, but also with his rules and classifications as applied to the Spanish language; hence they experienced no little difficulty

⁶ *Historia de Yucathan*, p. 513.

⁷ Cf. Ralph Roys, *Antonio de Ciudad Real, Ethnographer*.

in fitting a strange tongue to these molds. The Spanish alphabet was employed as a means of representing the sounds of Mayan, but to represent phonemes not occurring in Castilian, the good fathers invented symbols. We find the inverted *c* used to represent a glottalized **ts**, and double consonants employed in other cases to represent glottalization, a very prominent feature of the language.⁸

⁸ Aloys Nykl reports that this "click" has affected the Spanish of the region. See his *Notes on the Spanish of Yucatán, Vera Cruz, and Tlaxcala*.

X

HUAXTECAN

JUAN DE LA CRUZ

Nothing is known about the Spanish origin of this friar of the Augustinian Order. Esteban García gives the following information:¹

Professaron en el Priorato de nuestro Santo, tres notables Religiosos . . . Fué el tercero el Padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz, que passó a la Nueva España año de 1539 y era tanta su virtud, y tal su opinion en aquel dichoso siglo, que luego año de 1542 fuè uno de los señalados para el descubrimiento, y conversion de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas; no hizo el viaje, y se quedò a trabajar con los Indios, y con tal espiritu, y amor, que los de la sierra alta lo llamavan en su lengua *Noco*, palabra de mucho amor, y que suena casi lo mesmo que Paysano. Passó a la Huasteca, y trabajò hasta la muerte sin intermission, murió Virgen, y con loa de Varon perfectissimo año de 1577.²

The *Doctrina christiana en la lengua Guasteca* by Fray Juan was published in Mexico in 1571.

From the preliminaries:

Epistula nuncupatoria al muy excelente Señor Don Martin Enriquez, Visorrey, Gouvernador y Capitan general dela nueva España:

¹ *El maximo limosnero*, Mexico, 1657, p. 32.

² See also Santiago Vela, Gregorio, *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, Madrid, 1915, II, p. 175. This author gives the date of his death as 1574.

Conocido, muy exelēte señor, no por relacion sino por experiēcia el sancto zelo, cō que. V. Excē. desea, y por todas vias pcura el bien y salud delas animas de los Indios naturales destas partes: y auiedo me mandado. V. Exce. mouido del mesmo zelo pcurasse, para fauorecer las ainmas đ los indios Guastecos, gente muy falta y necessitada đ doctrina, hazer vn catecismo, con q fuesen industriados đ las verdades de nřa sãcta fee, hize en cūplimiento de lo q V. Exc. me mando esta breue doctrina en dos lēguas española y guasteca, para q por la vna se saque facilmente, la otra tãbien mediante el diuino fauor, hize y recopile el arte, para aprēder la dicha lengua: en lo qual de mas de mi trabajo me he aprouechado đ los trabajos de otros padres y ministros zelosos de la saluacion de aquella pobre gente, y de otros muchos de los quales me he ayudado, para examinar la congruencia y correspondencia dela lengua Guasteca, ala nuestra Española, como van contrapuestas por sus planas . . . Yo aunque yndigno visto q enla lengua mexicana sea traduzido y sacado muchas doctrinas y q desta lengua guasteca, no auido quien aya sacado doctrina a luz sino vna que saco el padre fray Juan de guevara frayle dela ordē de nuestro padre sancto augustin . . . que se imprimio en la sede vacante el año de 1548. la qual ansi por la falta del molde: como por la de los nahuatlato que en aquel tiempo no alcançauan tanto los secretos y modos đ hablar đlla: por no se auer puesto en arte tiene: y aparecido tener: algunos đfectos como a mi me cōsta đ veinte años aesta parte por auer tenido mas curiosidad enella q otros nahuatlato seglares que ygnoran la gramatica de la dicha lēgua guasteca y sus muchas equiuocaciones . . . visto el principal que era el muy reuerēdo padre fray Andres đ Olmos . . . y el muy reuerendo padre Juan đ Mesa clerigo, que de los clerigos

no ay otro q della entiēda cosa y el por sus
 escrúpulos no se atreue ala sacar: y por esto yo
 determine d̄ la sacar no tã breue, . . .

In the colophon of this book Juan de Mesa is named as one who had examined the work before publication. It will be remembered that he had been a companion of Father Olmos during the travels of the latter through the Huasteca.³

The *Doctrina* of Juan de la Cruz is of the usual type, giving the Per Signum Crucis, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Creed, etc., in Latin and Huastecan. Spanish is used in some cases rather than Latin.

The Lord's Prayer in Huastecan, as given by Fray Juan:

Yapailome anitquahat antamyaeb chic. Sab
 caquaquavlun anabi. Sabcachich achatetal Sab
 catahan anale, aniyeh: vatahab tayaeb: anica-
 queh tichabal. Sabtacupica xague: yacaylel ba-
 canil, tayaba hualenab: tincal Sab tacupaculachi,
 yagualab chic, aniye: vaua yapaculanchial:
 an yatoc nanchislomchic. Tincal ybcuquahlan,
 an tiesestalab. Timat taaculoth, tiba anayb-
 quaqu. Anic atahan. Jesus.

It is unfortunate for this study that other early books on the Huastecan language cannot be found, for it seems that it is the only tongue of the group under consideration that today possesses the sound Θ. This sound has been represented by various letters during the 18th and 19th Centuries.⁴

³ See above, p. 39.

⁴ See p. 152.

CARLOS DE TAPIA ZENTENO

Noticia de la lengua huasteca, Mexico, 1767.

According to the preliminaries of the above, Tapia had finished the work in 1746. He later wrote a grammar of the Mexican language (see p. 81). The *Noticia* also contains a small dictionary, a catechism, and the forms for the administration of the sacraments, as well as a confessionary.

The observations to be found in Tapia's book on Huastecan are important for a study of the development of Spanish pronunciation, especially when compared with the remarks of the same writer on the Mexican language.⁵

⁵ See pp. 135; 179.

XI

OTHER LANGUAGES

1. *Tzotzil*

An incomplete copy of a very early *cartilla* in this language is in the Brown Library collection. All data concerning the author and publisher is missing. Nicolás León ascribes the printing to one of the 16th century typesetters.¹

2. *Tzoque*

In volume XXII of the *Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine* (Paris, 1898), were printed works in this language of Chiapas: an *Arte breve y vocabulario* by Luis González, and a *Doctrina christiana* by Juan Pozarengo, the former written in 1672 and the latter in 1696. Certain aspects of orthography of these writings point to early prototypes. One of the first to write in the language was Francisco Cepeda (1532-1602), of the Order of Santo Domingo.

3. *Mixe*

An *Arte de la lengua mixe* by Agustín de Quintana was printed in Puebla in 1729, and was followed by a *confessionario* in the same language in 1733. Father Quintana's remarks on pronunciation mark the system of spelling as of an early period.

¹ Cf. Medina, *Imprenta*, I, p. 364.

4. *Mame*

A good example of the confusion in spelling apparent in Mexico shortly after 1600 is to be had in the *Vocabulario de la lengua mame* (1644) by Diego de Reynoso. Certain aspects of this orthography are discussed in connection with changes in pronunciation of the Colonial Period (see below, p. 150).

5. *Chuchonan*

BARTOLOMÉ ROLDÁN

Cartilla y doctrina christiana en la lengua chuchona, Mexico, 1580.

From the dedicatory of the author:

Habiendo, pues, muchos años por mandado de V. R. y de los muy Reverendos padres Provinciales, que precedieron, ocupadome y trabajado en doctrinar a cierta nacion de Indios Chuchones, los cuales, por la dificultad que hay en el aprender y pronunciar su lengua, tienen y han tenido pocos ministros y ningun genero de doctrina impresa, ni cartillas en que pueden ser enseñados.

Aduertencias

Faltan quatro letras en este idioma que son estas: *b, f, p, r*,

Para la pronunciacion pongo dos diferencias que son: *â, à*; *â* denota que la diction se ha de pronunciar por las narizes a manera de vn poco gangoso; *à* se pone solamente para el accento: *tâa* padre, *taà* saluarse.

6. *Mazahuan*

A *Doctrina y enseñanza* with a few observations on the pronunciation of this tongue of the Otomí

stock was printed in Mexico City in 1637. The author was Diego de Nágera Yanguas.

7. *Totonacan*

JOSEPH ZEMBRANO Y BONILLA

Many changes in the pronunciation of Spanish are reflected in the *Arte del idioma totonaco* of this writer. The book was written at Hueitlalpam and published in Mexico City in 1715.

This work was very probably due to a model by Andrés Olmos who had written a grammar of the Mexican language at Hueitlalpam (see p. 37). The digraph *lh* used by Olmos in his Nahuatl *arte* is also found in the work of Zembrano.

After informing his readers that the Indians use *z* for *s*, and *h* for *g* or *j* in writing the language, Zembrano mentions certain mispronunciations of the Totonacans:

. . . los Totonacos usan de la P, por F. porque dicen Palanciso por Francisco, de la T. por R, Petolo por Pedro; de la L, por R, Lapael por Rafael; de la T, por D, Tiego por Diego; y de la X, por J, Xoxep por Joseph.

8. *Cora*

JOSÉ ORTEGA

Vocabulario en lengua castellana y cora, Mexico, 1732.

Interesting comparisons may be made between the early representation of this language of Western

² K. Th. Preuss, *Grammatik der Cora-Sprache*, Int. Journ. Amer. Ling., VII, March 1932, p. 5.

Mexico and modern phonetic transcriptions by reference to a recently published grammar of the language.² Orthographic considerations would lead one to believe that there were earlier representations than that of 1732.

9. *Cahita*

Eustaquio Buelna's edition of the *Arte de la lengua Cahita por un padre de la Compañía de Jesus*, which was written during the 18th century, reveals the fact that there had been changes in the pronunciation of Spanish between the time of the Conquest and the settlement of Northwestern Mexico.

10. *Piman*

A valuable grammar of the Piman or Nevome language from a manuscript of the 18th century was edited by Buckingham Smith in 1862. This book also shows changes in the system of sounds of the Spanish language.

11. *Tepehuanan*

We have an interesting transcription of an Indian language by an Italian in the *Arte de la lengua tepeguana con vocabulario, confessionario y catechismo*, Mexico, 1743, by Benito Rinaldini, who uses symbols that would indicate analogous pronunciations in his own tongue.

12. *Languages of Texas*

BARTHOLOMÉ GARCÍA

The only work of importance on the languages of the region of Texas was published by this author in

Mexico in 1760. Among the tribes that he lists in his title are the Pajalates, Orejones, Pacaos, Pacoas, Tilijayas, Alafapas, Pausanes, Manos de Perro, etc., and to the priests among these people his book was to serve as a manual for the administration of the Sacraments.

In connection with the application of confession on the Sixth Commandment, Father García expresses himself as believing that it is often a monotonous routine :

Los mas de los Indios no saben explicar el numero de las Personas, ni las vezes quando son muchas, ni con quantas Casadas, &c. Y aunque el modo dicho de preguntar, para esta gente, es el seguro;³ pero alguna vez parece sera muy pesado preguntar: con otra, con otra, con otra, &c. quando ay tanta multitud de Personas con quienes han pecado, que no la pueden explicar; . . .

³ The questions asked in this and other cases are the same as those of Molina of some 200 years previous.

PART II

SPANISH PRONUNCIATION
AS REVEALED IN THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF
THE INDIAN LANGUAGES OF
MEXICO

I

PHONETIC TABLE

For the recording of the complex phonetic phenomena of the languages of Mexico as a group, a very comprehensive system of symbols would be necessary. But since the following comparisons have been prepared from the viewpoint of one interested in Spanish orthography and the pronunciation that it has represented since the Castilians came to what is now Mexico, the system has been reduced to a minimum. Especially is this true as far as the vowels are concerned, for there are no changes apparent in the Spanish vowels and diphthongs since the Conquest.

The following table of characters has been suggested by the short list of symbols prepared for the transcription of Indian languages by the Committee of the American Anthropological Association, and published in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection*, vol. 66, 1916.

VOWELS

- a**, as in Spanish *par*
- e**, as in Spanish *mesa*
- i**, as in Spanish *mí*
- o**, as in Spanish *poner*
- u**, as in Spanish *tú*
- ə**, obscure vowel

Semivowels, **w, y**; voiceless, **W, Y**.

Stress indicated by acute accent over vowel, **á**.

Nasalization indicated by tilde over vowel, **ã**

Duration indicated by colon, **à**:

| CONSONANTS | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | Stops | | Affricatives Fricatives | | Nasals | |
| | Sonant | Surd | Sonant | Surd | Sonant | Surd |
| Bilabial | b | p | | | v | |
| Dental | d | t | dz | ts | z | s |
| Interdental | | | | tθ | ð | θ |
| Apico-alveolar | | | | | Z | S |
| Prepalatal | | | dž | tš | ž | š |
| Palatal | g | k | | | ɣ | x |
| Velar | G | K | | | ɣ | X |
| | | | | | | ŋ |

Trills: **r**, tongue tip sonant; **R**, voiceless.

Laterals: **l**, sonant; **L**, voiceless; **tL**, surd affricative.

Glottal spirant: **h**.

Glottal stop or glottalized consonant: **a'**; **t'**.

Aspirated release: **t'**.

II

C AND Z

1. *Theories Regarding Values in Old Spanish*

The question of the phonetic values and the course of development of the Spanish sibilants during the sixteenth century has been the occasion for several treatises. Three main theories have been formed regarding the pronunciation of Castilian *c* (before *i* and *e*) and *z* at the time of the conquests in America.

Rufino José Cuervo states his views on the matter in an article in the "Revue Hispanique,"¹ and his theory is upheld by J. D. M. Ford in his *Old Spanish Sibilants*.

Cuervo and Ford maintain that *ç* then had the value of a voiceless dental affricative, a sound that they represent by *ts*, and that *z* in the prevocalic position had the value *dz*, the corresponding sonant. To Ford the Castilian *s* was apparently of a cacuminal nature,² although he admits the conflicting testimony of the Swedish phonetician, Frederick Wulff,³ who describes it as *prédorsale extra-alvéolaire fricative convexe sourde*.

¹ *Disquisiciones sobre antigua ortografía y pronunciación castellanas*, II, pp. 1-69.

² Cf. *Old Spanish Sibilants*, p. 110.

³ *Un Chapitre de Phonétique Andalouse*, p. 247.

A second estimation of the values of ζ and z at the time is given by Charles Marden,⁴ and by A. Espinosa.⁵ Marden bases his idea on the conformity of Spanish-American pronunciation, and says that this would argue strongly for the fact that the simple sibilant s was the sound used in the literary speech of Spain at the time of the colonization of these territories; that is, that the sibilants were what they are today in Mexico.

Espinosa writes:

The fact that in all Spanish countries which began to be settled in the early part of the XVIth century, $c(e, i)z$ became s , with no traces of other sounds, is positive proof that the people who settled these regions pronounced only s , and if they did so, it was not for them a recent change that took place on the eve of their departure. We are obliged, therefore to place the date of this change in Spain in the last half of the XVth century.

In par. 111 of the same study, Espinosa speaks of this s as being essentially the same as "the Castilian Spanish s ". However the same writer's opinions in this respect have evidently changed since 1909, the date of the publication of the *Studies*.⁶

Menéndez Pidal presents a third view with the statement:

⁴ *Phonology of the Spanish Dialect of Mexico City*, p. 32.

⁵ *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, par. 112.

Cf. also Norman Willey, *C and Z in American Spanish*. Mr. Willey supports the theory of Marden and Espinosa but recognizes a difference between Old Spanish ζ and s .

⁶ Cf. *A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation* by Espinosa and Navarro Tomás.

La lengua antigua distinguía también la pronunciación de la *ç* sorda y de la *z* sonora cuya pronunciación podría ser de Θ y *z*, *plaza*, *hazer*.⁷

A reference to the table of symbols reveals that a surd and a sonant interdental fricative are indicated. He states, however, (sec. 37, 2c) that the *ç* probably represented **ts** in some regions.

In the most exhaustive study of the history of Spanish pronunciation yet written,⁸ the French scholar, Henri Gavel, sums up the evidence concerning the former pronunciation of *ç* and *z* and concludes that the interdental articulation was the usual one at the time of the colonization of America.

En tout cas, une chose paraît assurée: c'est qu'au XVI^e siècle au plus tard le *ç* et le *z* étaient déjà des interdentales dans la prononciation castillane.⁹

Gavel thinks that *z* represented a voiced interdental in a prevocalic position within the breath group, or, of course, before a sonant.¹⁰

Castilian **S**, according to this scholar, dates back at least to the sixteenth century. He cites terms borrowed by the Basques from Spanish before 1571, in which Spanish *s* remains as *s* in a language that possesses both the apicoalveolar and the dental sibilants, the former represented by *s* and the latter by *ç* or *z*.¹¹

The matter of the so-called *seseo* of Andalusia,

⁷ *Gramática Histórica española*, sec. 35 bis, 2.

⁸ *Essai sur l'Évolution de la Prononciation du Castillan*, Paris, 1920.

⁹ *ibid*, p. 279.

¹⁰ *ibid*, p. 262.

¹¹ Gavel, *Essai*, p. 345.

America, and also of Jewish Spanish, is not given much attention by M. Gavel, however, he does believe that the interdental quality of ζ and z was lost in the Spanish of the Jews that were expelled; in that of certain Andalusians, and in the speech of Spanish-Americans.

Sans doute le z et le ζ ont perdu chez eux [the Jews] toute valeur interdentale et sont devenus des sifflantes pures, . . . [p. 262]

De tout ceci il résulte que la confusion des interdentales avec l' s s'est d'abord faite non dans le sens du *seseo*, c'est-à-dire par transformation des interdentales en s , mais bien, au contraire, dans celui du *ceceo*, c'est-à-dire par transformation de l' s en interdentale. Certaines contrées de l'Andalousie, on le sait, sont restées fidèles jusqu'à nos jours à cet état de choses: le son de s y est donc inconnu, et cette lettre y est prononcée z . Mais dans d'autres régions au contraire le son interdental unique auquel toutes les consonnes des deux groupes interdentals et proprement sifflants avaient ainsi abouti a subi une nouvelle évolution: en position prévocalique, ce son unique est devenu une sifflante pure, distincte de l' s castillane . . . [p. 310]

En Amérique le *seseo* est presque général. Il paraît toutefois que l'articulation correcte de z s'est conservée dans certaines régions; . . . [p. 245]

The above theory regarding the *seseo* of Andalusia and America presupposes two changes in the Spanish of certain regions in the sixteenth century: a change from Θ to s , and another from S to s ; that is, that two sounds were lost and a new one adopted. This would be quite an unusual development. If Θ

and **S** were the usual sounds in the speech of those who settled Mexico, when did they both become **s**, the sibilant of modern Mexican Spanish?

As the following material tends to show, the change was rather one of leveling, with the loss of the sound **S** of a set: **S** and **s**.

2. *Mexican*

The Mexican or Nahuatl language possesses the sibilants **s** and **ts**, as well as **š**. The last sound usually becomes **šx** before the back vowels.

Throughout the first hundred years after the Conquest these sounds were represented by the Spaniards by **ç** (*z* preconsonantal and final); **tz** (*tç*), and **x** (or *s*) respectively. In the 17th and 18th centuries there are many objections voiced to this spelling, though the system of the first fathers was never seriously altered.

In the literature on the Mexican language we have the following observations:

Olmos, *Arte* (1547):

Y las letras que les faltan son las siguientes:
b, d, f, g, r, s, v consonante . . . A las otras
letras que tienen comunes con nuestro romance
les dan el mismo valor que nosotros. [Pt. III,
Ch. 6]

Molina, *Arte* (1571):

Allende desto, esta lengua tiene vna letra
Hebrayca, que es tsade. La qual se hade es-
creuir con. *t y, s*, o con. *t. y. z*: y ase de pro-
nunciar como *t. y. s.* diziendo. *nimitztlaçotla.*
nitzatzí. niuetzi. [fol. 1]

Interjectiones . . . Otras ay que son del q haze señal a otro que calle. ci tia. ca nocne. [fol. 82]

Molina, *Arte* (1576):

Allende desto, esta lengua tiene vna letra Hebrayca, que es: tsade. La qual se ha de escreuir cõ t. y. z. y no cõ t. y. s. y hase de pronunciar. t. y z. [fol. 1]

Molina, *Vocabulario* (1571):

. . . el tza, tze, tzi. tzo. tzu (que se vsa mucho enesta lengua) va ala pronunciacion de ça. ce. ci. ço. çu . . . [Aviso segundo]

Carochi, *Arte* (1645):

De la *z*. no vsan al principio de las dicciones ni de las syllabas, sino solamente al fin dellas como *Ninemiz*, yo viuire. *Tinemizque*, nosotros viuiremos: esta *z*. se pronuncia casi como la *s*. Castellana, aunque la *s*. silua algo mas, y es mas blanda.¹

Otra letra tienen parecida en la pronunciacion a la *z* y a la *ç*. pero es de mas fuerte pronunciacion, corresponde a la letra Hebrea llamada Tsade; escrivese en esta lengua con t. y z. como *Nitzatzi*, yo grito. [Preliminaries]

Vetancourt, *Arte* (1673):

. . . y aunque pudiera la *S*. y *G*. escribirse en algunos vocablos, pues se pronuncian vocalmente, como en este vocablo Zihuatl, que si se escribiera con *S*. en lugar de la *Z*. hiziera la misma pronunciacion . . . Con todo por hallarse en todos los escritos Mexicanos la *Z*. y no la *S*. la *H*. y no la *G*. se prosigue la falta de ellos en lo escrito, aunque parece usarse de ellas en lo pronunciado. [Ch. I]

¹ This description of *z* has been repeated even in the 19th century. Cf. Pimentel, *Cuadro descriptivo*, I, p. 8; A. Rosa, *Arte*, p. 2; C. Robelo, *Dicc. de Aztequismos*, p. 19; Alvarez y Guerrero, *Estudio filológico*, p. 407.

Guerra, *Arte* (1692):

. . . la S q si se escriviera en lugar de la Z, hiziera el mesmo sentido, y pronunciacion, como se ve en este vocablo *zihualt*, . . . Pero atendiendo a que en los escritos Mexicanos antiguos se ha vsado siempre de la Z. y no de la S . . . se ha ido continuando esta falta hasta la era presente . . . [fol. 1]

Pérez, *Arte* (1713):

La G. y la S. parece que las ay, Vg. *Huehue* que parece que es con G. pero es con H. La S. como *Tlazotla*, pero es con Z. o con C. cedilla. [Ch. II]

Avila, *Arte* (1717):

Advirtiendlo tambien, que en dicho Ydioma, suple el H. por la G. v. g. en este vocablo *Hual*, por venir, no se escribe con G. sino con H. La S. no se pronuncia, sino la Z, en su lugar, v. g. en este nombre *Zcalt*, y assi se escribe con Z no con S. notando que los Indios no pronuncian la D. sino T. y assi dicen Tiego por decir Diego . . . En lugar de la J. la H. y assi dicen Huesus: por decir Jesus. [Prelims.]

Tapia Zenteno, *Arte novissima* (1753):

La S es sin duda, que la pronunciacion de ella en esta lengua es demostrable: pues la Z, que en su lugar escriben, tiene diferente sonido de el que en nuestro dialecto, pues decimos *nihualas* con S, y no *nihualaz* con Z, y esto es en infinitos vocablos.²

. . . tz que como dice el P Carochi, corresponde a el tsade hebreo, como *tzatzi*, gritar: y si aquel se escribe con T y S, insisto en que se debia la Z borrar en el Mexicano, escribiendo solo la S. [Ch. I]

Cortés y Zedeño, *Arte* (1765):

² Cf. Tapia's description of the Θ of Huastecan, p. 151.

. . . la G. y la S. podian usarse en los escritos, pues se pronuncian, como ellòs son, v. g. la S. si se escribiera en lugar de Z. hiciera el mismo sentido . . . [p. 1]

Carranza, *Arte* (Written about 1800):

La S. suple con la C. o la Z. v. g.: *tepoztl* . . . *tetlacotlaz* . . . *tepostli*, *tetlacotlas*.

Throughout the writings of other authors of the Colonial Period we find the **s** of Mexican represented by *ç* or *z*, with a tendency finally to use only *z*. The **ts** of Nahuatl was always written *tz* or *tç*. The *s* of the Spanish alphabet was among the *letras que faltan*, though some writers used it to represent the **š** of the Mexican language (see below, II).

Molina's comparison of the Mexican affricative **ts** to Spanish *ts*, in 1571, was undoubtedly due to the spelling of Hebrew *tsade*, which he mentioned in connection with the Mexican sound. In the edition of 1576, Molina definitely states that the sound is to be pronounced like Spanish *tz*, and is to be written *tz*, not *ts*.

Prior to the *Arte* of Carochi, there is no indication that the *ç* of Spanish differed from the sound of Nahuatl for which it was used. The fact that Carochi chose another letter to which to compare the *z* traditionally employed in Mexican writings, would indicate that the *z* of Spanish no longer had the sound **s**, as far as he was concerned. This, coupled with his reference to the difference between the Castilian *s* and the *z* that he was describing, presupposes a wider difference between the *s* and the *z* of Spanish. There evidently existed in certain sec-

tions of America a distinction even that late. To him the Spanish sounds must have been what they are today in Northern Spain, i. e. **S** and **Θ**. There is now no difference between the **s** of Mexican Spanish and the **s** of Nahuatl. The *s*, *z* and *c* (*e*, *i*) of Mexican Spanish and the *z* used in Nahuatl writings, all represent the sound **s**.

Avila's explanation of the use of *z* for *s* was listed by him along with other defects in the pronunciation of the Indians (see above); while Tapia's admonition on the pronunciation of Huastecan *z* (p. 151), would indicate that he affected a pronunciation of **Θ** to the extent that the **s** of Mexican was not to be represented by *z*, but by *s*. For the other grammarians of the 17th and 18th centuries, there was apparently no difference between *z* and *s*, although they kept the traditional spelling of the friars of the 16th century, who made a constant distinction, and who used *s* very rarely, and then for the **š** of Mexican.

3. *Otomí*

The anonymous MS. vocabulary in the Gilberti dictionary of 1559³ contains words in which the letter *z* is used; others have the spelling *tz*, and the combination *ttz* is also found.

Words spelled with *z* in this vocabulary were pronounced for the writer by three Otomíes from the State of Hidalgo. The sound was, in each case **z**. **ts** was the sound heard in terms written *tz* or *ttz* in

³ See above, p. 87.

the anonymous dictionary. However, other authors of the Colonial Period employed combinations to portray the *z* of Otomí.

Cáceres, *Arte* (16th century) :

Tienen otras [*sic*] que ni es *z*. ni *c*. Escriuese con *tz*, vt. *tatza*, *tatzi*. Otra tienen con mas behemencia, escriuese con *ttz*. vt. *amahettzi*.
 . . . [Clave]

Cáceres' grammar, unless Nicolás León is mistaken, was composed about 1580, nevertheless in the *clave* that accompanies it we find a confusion of *c*, *z* and *s*, though in the text proper the spelling is quite consistent.

The *Luces de Idioma Otomí* written by a Jesuit during the eighteenth century and finished shortly after the *Arte* of Neve y Molina (1767), quotes many authorities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the language. The anonymous author says that those giving *luces* of the Otomí at the Hospital Real in Mexico had stated that the language did not have the letters *f*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *r*, *s*, but that some of those present insisted that only *f* and *l* were lacking.

La *s* decían no faltarle, pues esta voz *zaha*, que significa el dedo, escrita con *z*, hace el mismo tono, que *saha*, escrita con *s*. Luego no le falta. [p. 10]

Carochi's *arte* of *Otomí*, which was never printed, nevertheless furnished this author of the *Luces* with material, for he secured it at the college in Tepozotlan, and after having mislaid his copy, solicited the information from a member of the Jesuit Company.

According to Carochi (1580-1662):

Z.—Y lo mismo de la *ç*, aunque no es tan usada. La *z* sola se pronuncia con mucha suavidad. V. g. *zongui*, cosa redonda. Cuando se le antepone la *t*, se pronuncia con fuerza . . .

R ni s tiene esta lengua. [*Luces*, p. 82]

The writer of the *Luces* also quotes Juan Sánchez de la Baquera:

s—Asentaba: que esta letra no tenía el Othomí, y que hacía sus veces la *x*. [p. 88]

t, sin cabeza, junta con *z*, denota que la pronunciación del vocablo se asemeja al ruido o zumbido del jicote o moscón. *tza*, palo. [p. 92]

Neve y Molina, *Reglas* (1767):

La *z* es de tres maneras: La primera se llama suave, se escribe así; *Z* y se pronuncia como la *S* en castellano: v. g.: *Zopho*, que significa la cosecha. La segunda se llama fuerte escribese así: *tz* y se pronuncia apretando la punta de la lengua contra el paladar, y echando el sonido con fuerza, v. g.: *ma tzodi* . . . La tercera se llama resongada, escríbese así: *z*, y se pronuncia resongando la pronunciación con suavidad, v. g.: *naza*, que significa el palo. [Prelims.]

Ramírez, *Breve Compendio* (1785):

Tz . . . para cuya recta pronunciación, es necesario formar un susurro, semejante al del moscardón, llamado vulgarmente Gicote, o al del Pajarillo, llamado Chupamirtos, Palo: *Tza* . . . Luna: *Tzana*. [p. 8]⁴

The Spaniard, López Yepes, gives very accurate descriptions of the sounds of such a difficult language as Otomí, especially considering the fact that

⁴ It is impossible to reproduce the symbol used by Ramírez, but it amounted to a *t sin cabeza*, with the letter *z*.

his *Catecismo* was written as early as 1826. This writer reserves *Rz* for the **z** of the language, and uses *s* for **š**. He also gives an interesting list of terms taken into Otomí from Spanish (see below, p. 182).

z and ts in Otomí

MS.

| Spanish | Vocab. | Cáceres | Neve | López | Modern |
|---------|---------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| Comer | <i>datzi</i> | | <i>tzí</i> | <i>tzi</i> | tsi |
| Diente | <i>anttzi</i> | | <i>na tzi</i> | <i>ttzi</i> | tsi |
| Fuego | <i>atzibi</i> | | | <i>tzibi</i> | tsibí |
| Luna | <i>anzana</i> | <i>tzana</i> | <i>zânâ</i> | <i>Rzana</i> | zá:na |
| Madera | <i>moza</i> | <i>tza</i> | <i>za</i> | <i>Rza</i> | za: |
| Acaecer | <i>bizoy</i> | | | <i>Rzai</i> | |
| Zapato | | | <i>sexthî</i> | <i>Rzæsthi</i> | zešt'í |

The indications are that to only one of the above writers, the anonymous lexicographer, was the **z** of Otomí to be represented by Spanish *z*. To all others the sound was a strange one.

The affricative **ts** was not portrayed by a single letter by any of the writers.

Among the early writers, Spanish *s* was not thought present in the sound system of Otomí, but after Carochi, the native writers wonder why *s* had not been used for the **s** or **z** of the Indian tongue.

4. *Matlaltzincan*

The vocabulary attributed to Andrés Castro has the combination *tz* alternating with *z* in cognates, or sometimes in the spelling of the same word. The *z* alone usually occurs following *n*. The particle *in*,

which Basalenque describes as the *el. v. la* of the language, is given with practically all nouns throughout the Castro dictionary.

The following terms from the *vocabulario* of Castro illustrate the occurrence of both *z* and *tz*, and the use of the particle *in*:

Luna. *in bbaa*.

Arbol. *yntzaa*.

Carasco arbol verde. *inzaaxy zaa inintziitzaa
yninzaanzaa*.

Diente. *jn ziby*.

Paja. *jn xy*.

Nariz. *jn maxi, yn botto maxy*. [the our nose]

Diego Basalenque in the *Arte* of 1640 has a few observations on the letters that had traditionally been written to portray this language, among them *z*:

Z

Esta *z*. sirbe de /çeta/ como, *tza*, *tze*, *tzi*, *tzo*, *tzu*, poniendole, *t*, antes. y si ala *z*. antecedio Vocal. se pierde, la *t*. como quiz hechori, ponese en principio, qui hi *tzi tzi-nintzee*-que fuerça tenga arrimada au na Vocal. [fol. 6]

. . . tambien se note que no sirbe como en el castellano de /çeta/ porque para esto tienen la /*z*/ y aesto suele anteceder. *t*. ligada; *tz*, *tze*, *tzi*, *tzo*, *tzu*. [fol. 6]

S.—falta *S*. que ay algunos Vocablos, que en medio, parece que tienen *S*. y no es asi sino falta de pronunciacion, porque en nña lengua española ay hombres que pronuncian mal pronunciando la, *C*, por *S*. y la *S*. por. *C* . . . llamamos que cecean y a otros que, esen, lo mismo sucede a estos naturales en dos ocasiones quando an de pronunciar la, *X*, *V*. la *z*.

que abren mucho los dientes y labios y por las dichas letras hacen S. Vg. hostami (hoxdami) misnu (mitznu).

In 1925 Dr. Schuller published notes on the Matlaltzincan language.⁵ We have the following comparison of words transcribed by him on that occasion with the same ones as written by Castro, Guevara and Basalenque:

| Spanish | Castro | Guevara | Basalenque | Schuller |
|---------|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Perro | <i>inthetzaa- zhiny</i> | <i>tzini</i> | <i>inte tzini</i> | <i>intsini</i> |
| Arbol | <i>yntzaa</i> | <i>tzaa</i> | <i>in tzaa</i> | <i>íntsa</i> |
| Maguey | | <i>xuni</i> | <i>in xuni</i> | <i>íshuni</i> |
| Nariz | <i>jn maxi</i> | <i>nari</i> | <i>botu maxi</i> | <i>ni máshi</i> |
| Oreja | <i>yn bott- ocha</i> | <i>che</i> | <i>botu che</i> | <i>in bóte choe</i> |
| Sol | <i>yn yhabi</i> | <i>yahbi</i> | <i>in hiabi</i> | <i>íxhabi</i> |

5. Tarascan

In the *Arte* of 1558 Gilberti gives a detailed description of the system of affricatives and dental sibilants of the language of Michoacán:

Regla primera.

Los vocablos escritos con tza. tze. tzi. tzo. tzu. significan de vna manera y los con ça. ce. ci. ço. çu. de otra, vt. Tzahcamani. blanquear alguna cosa, y çahcamani. enxugarse el agua. Tzahpandini. saber alguna cosa imperfectamente. çahpandini. beuer lo todo que no qde nada. Tzitzimuni. Hablar graciosamente, y çizimuni. Silbar entre dientes. Tzitaqua. Soga. çihitaqua. Cerro qbrado.

⁵ *Los indios matlatsinca y su lengua.*

Regla segunda.

Los vocablos escritos cõ. tsi. significã đvna maẽra: y los q co. tzi. đ otra assi como Tsitsis, abispa, tzitzis. Hermoso. Tsicamarini. mezclar algũa cosa cõ otra. y tzicamarini. doblar como manta o papel.

Aviso segundo

En esta lengua ay muchos vocablos cuya pronunciacion es muy mas rezia, qlas comunes en el romance castellano q cõ ça ce ci ço çu. O cõ Sa se si so su. suelen escreuir y pnunciar: por esto menester es fingir algũas letras las qles seã señal de su recta pronunciacion: assi como ã los vocablos puestos enel principio dela primera regla đl primero auiso couiene a saber. Tzahcamani. &c. En esta primera sillaba. Tza, se antepone la. t. ala. z: en señal dela dicha recta pronunciacion la qual se ha de proferir como quien quisiesse pronunciar las siguientes silabas disiuntas, vut, vet. vit. y despues lo que se sigue assi como Vuatsi. vetsiquareni. vetzeni. vitzindequa. vitzaqua.

Dela orthorgaphia [*sic*]

Muchos vocablos ay enesta lengua đ rezia pronunciacion, para la cual pronunciacion es menester añadir. tza, ansi como en las siguiẽtes diciones. Tzacapu. piedra, vitzaqua, yerua. vitzindequa, ayer. tzomeni. escozer. la pronunciacion destos y semejantes vocablos que son innumerables. ha de ser poniendo el pico dela lengua entre los dientes delanteros de arriba, abriendo vn poquito los labios: y hiriendo rezio el paladar con la lengua: como en la pronunciacion de tza y debetzayda, y luego muy facilmente se abrala delos mas vocablos con tze. tzi. tzo. tzu. Y para monstrar ala clara: que no abasta escreuir ni pronunciar las tales diciones como quiera, porne aqui el inconueniẽte que se seguiria dello, tzhcamani. significa relucir algo,

y mudada la tza. en ça y diziẽdo çahcamani, significaria enxugarse el agua enel charco o otro lugar . . .

Diego Basalenque in his grammar (written about 1645) warns of the difficulty of the Tarascan sibilants:

Mucha dificultad ay en pronunciar las particulas presentes, y se ha de vencer con el exercicio, porque mudan el sentido: Tsitsis, es la Avispa, y pronunciada con tz, significa, hermoso, tzitzis . . . Mucha dificultad han de tener los ceceossos, como los Sevillanos, que a cada passo mudan la C. en S. y a la contra la S. en C. [Ch. 4].

The following words from the *vocabulario* of Gilberti were verified by the writer with a Tarascan boy attending the school at the Casa del Estudiante Indígena in Mexico City. The Indian boy was asked for the equivalent in his language of the Spanish terms.

| Spanish | Gilberti | Modern Pronunciation |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Vn poquito | <i>çanihco</i> | san (poco) |
| Bien | <i>cez</i> | seis |
| Arena | <i>cutzari</i> | kutsári |
| Trigo o mayz | <i>ahtziri</i> | tsíri |
| Cebolla | <i>thsurupz</i> | ts'úrups ¹ |

Gilberti's description of the Tarascan sibilants argues not only for a distinction between Spanish *ç* and *s*, but also for a pronunciation of Spanish *ç* sim-

¹ Pimentel reports in his *Cuadro descriptivo* (I, 285): "La *c* nunca suena como *s* o *z*, sino como *k* . . ."

ilar to, if not identical with the **s** of the *lengua de Mechuacan*, represented by *ç* and *z*.

Juan de Lagunas of Castilla la Vieja, whose *arte* was published in 1574, continues the orthographic traditions of Gilberti, as far as *ç* and *z* are concerned.

6. *Zapotecan*

The Zapotecan language of the vicinity of Oaxaca, where Juan de Córdoba wrote, possesses the sounds **s**, **z**, and **ts**. The affricative becomes **tš** in the speech of some regions.

Before examining certain of Córdoba's observations on the Zapotecan language, it might be best to review his remarks concerning the differences that he had noted in the pronunciation of Spanish among his countrymen. Córdoba was an Andalusian, and used the same letters to point out differences in Zapotecan pronunciation that he used in illustrating regional variations of Spanish pronunciation.

Para lo segundo que apuntamos. s. que sea la causa de las distintas pronunciaciones? . . . De donde prouienen las dubdas? . . . pues los religiosos que tratan con los yndios lo auran echado de ver. Vg. En, cetôba, dizen chzi, aguzando la lengua, y en zachilla, dizen, chi, la boca llena, y otros vocablos assi en otros pueblos . . . Porque entre nosotros y en nuestra España es lo mesmo que los de Castilla la vieja dizen hacer, y en Toledo hazer, y dizen xugar, y en toledo jugar, Y dizen yerro y en Toledo hierro. Y dizen alagar y en Toledo halagar, y otros muchos vocablos que dexo por euitar prolixidad. Pues por la falta de la lengua entre nosotros a

todos consta como pronuncia vn ceceoso o vn tartamudo, o vno de gruesa lengua. [p. 121, reprint]

Córdoba makes a constant distinction in the use of *ç* and *z* in writing Zapotecan terms, and renders the affricative that he describes above, by *ch*.

Córdoba, *Arte* (1578):

Za. Algunas vebes [*sic*] se pronuncia como ça. Y ya queda dicho de otra manera no se muda. [p. 72]

Letras que se semeian . . . la. z. vt tozobaya, pro, toçobaya ticija, pro tizija. [p. 73]

. . . este, zo, para en este significado muchas o las mas vezes es, çoo y no. zoo. l. es zoo, con dos, oo. [p. 115]

In the *Doctrina* of 1567, Feria employs the same orthography that is used by Córdoba, and although his work came from the press before the *arte* and *vocabulario* of Córdoba, we have no observations from him concerning pronunciation.

There is a confusion of *ç* and *z* in the Spanish of the writings of Martínez, Pacheco de Silva, Reyes, etc., although they cling to the traditional spelling for Zapotecan words, with few exceptions.

In certain 19th century representations of the Zapotecan language, **z** is represented by *x*; **s** by *s*; and **š** by *sh*. The *Cartilla de la ideoma sapoteca* of 1856 has *s* for **s** and **z** of Zapotecan, and *x* for **š**. The definition given for "moso" is *mosu*, while that for mesa is *mexa*.⁷

⁷ Cf. also, Arcadio Molina, *Principios generales para aprender . . . la lengua zapoteca, Oaxaca*, 1899.

The *x* for **z**, and *s* for **s** is also found in the *Notes* by Dr. F. Starr.

In the following table are Spanish and Zapotecan terms from the *vocabulario* of Juan de Córdoba with the modern Zapotecan equivalents as secured by the writer in the vicinity of Oaxaca:⁸

| Spanish | Córdoba | Teotitlan | Mitla | Ocotlan |
|---------|---------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| Agua | <i>Niça</i> | nísə | nis | nis |
| Año | <i>Iza</i> | ízə | iz | tuvíz (un año) |
| Ermána | <i>Zaana</i> | vizá:na | vizán | zá:nə |
| Frisol | <i>Pizaa</i> | bizá: | | za: |
| Nublado | <i>Zaa</i> | za: | za: | škávi |
| Padre | <i>Pixoze</i> | šúzə | vəšúz | šózya' |
| Tres | <i>Chona</i> | tsóna | tšon | |
| Diez | <i>Chij</i> | tsi: | tši | |

A long list of Zapotecan words is presented by Paul Radin in his *Distribution and Phonetics of the Zapotec Dialects*. Several words not listed above are given by Radin with **s** and **z** for the *ç* and *z* of Córdoba.

From several articles of Jaime de Angulo⁹ we have taken these forms:

| Spanish | Córdoba | Ángulo | |
|---------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Agua | <i>niça</i> | <i>nis</i> | (<i>Linguistic Tangle</i>) |
| Hermana | <i>zaana</i> | <i>pizaa</i> | (<i>Kinship Terms</i>) |
| Padre | <i>pixoze</i> | <i>bishuas</i> | (<i>Kinship Terms</i>) |
| Negro | <i>nagace</i> | <i>nà-ngèés</i> | (<i>Tone Patterns</i>) |

⁸ Transcriptions were also made of these terms as heard from natives of Tlacolula and the *Sierra*.

⁹ See above, p. 102; also general bibliography.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| Ojo | <i>pizaalao</i> | <i>viz</i> | (<i>Linguistic Tangle</i>) |
| Tres | <i>chona</i> | <i>tson</i> | (<i>Linguistic Tangle</i>) |
| Diez | <i>chij</i> | <i>tsi</i> | (<i>Linguistic Tangle</i>) |

Besides keeping a distinction between *ç* and *z* in his Spanish and in his Zapotecan, Córdoba furthermore states that *s* does not exist in the Indian language that he was representing (see below, p. 190), and in the few cases that he wrote that letter, it was as an alternative for *x* to represent a Zapotecan **š** or **ž**.

As we shall note, this writer also made a distinction between *x* and *j* (*g* before *e* and *i*). Córdoba pronounced six sibilants: **s**, **z**, **S**, **Z**, **š**, **ž**.

7. Mixtecan

In the *Arte* of Antonio de los Reyes, and in the dictionary of Alvarado, the digraph *dz* occurs quite frequently. If the modern pronunciation of Mixtecan is any indication, this combination was not intended to represent an affricative, as has been thought.¹⁰

The writer talked with several Mixtecan from the region northwest of Oaxaca, and learned that the *dz* of Reyes stands for an interdental voiced fricative, **ð**. But in checking over the same list of words with a native of Tlapa, Guerrero, it became evident that **ð** is not a sound of the speech of that region.

Reyes, *Arte* (1593):

Es de notar que en esta lengua se hallan muchas vezes dos consonantes juntas antes de

¹⁰ Siliceo Pauer (*La población indígena de Yalalag*), transcribes the *dz* of Reyes by *ds*. Cf. also, Pimentel, I, 396.

la vocal, y las que mas se vsan son las siguientes: *d* y *z* como *dza*, *dze*, *dzi*, *dzo*, *dzu*, *dzaya*, q. d. hijo . . . *dzita* q. d. pan. [Prologue]

En la pronunciacion de la *dz* herimos blandamente en la *d* y mas rezio en la *z*, . . . [p. 2]

Jaime de Ángulo indicates a δ pronunciation for the *dz* of Reyes in the article, *Kinship Terms in Some Languages of Southern Mexico*. His terms vary very little from those of Reyes.

The combination *dz* in Mixtecan:

| Spanish | Reyes | Angulo | Natives at Oax. | Tlapa |
|---------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Madre | <i>dzehe</i> | δi | $\delta\acute{e}'e$ | nána |
| Tío | <i>dziso</i> | <i>dito</i> | | šitoi |
| Tía | <i>dzidzi</i> | <i>diði</i> | | |
| Padre | <i>dzutu</i> , <i>taa ta</i> | | $\delta\acute{u}'tu$, nyani | táta |
| Sobrino | <i>dzasi</i> | \deltaashi | | tšáši |
| Sobrina | <i>dzicu</i> | <i>ðiku</i> | | |
| Cabeza | <i>dzini</i> | | | šini |
| | <i>dzeque</i> | δiki^{11} | $\delta\acute{e}ke$ | |
| Nariz | <i>dzitni</i> | | $\delta i'k\acute{u}$, díni | šíti |
| Pan | <i>dzita</i> | | $\delta i'ta$ (kaštíla) | |

Antonio de los Reyes, a native of the Province of Zamora, saw in the δ of Mixtecan a combination of the *d* and *z* of his own language. This would at least indicate that Spanish *z* did not represent a voiced interdental to him; and it seems quite certain that the *d* was employed to portray the voiced quality of an interdental that otherwise would have been written *z*.

¹¹ The term δiki is from the *Linguistic Tangle*, p. 98.

Francisco Alvarado wrote the above words just as they were written by Reyes, but in the *Catecismo en idioma mixteco*, published in Puebla in 1837, we find *dz* in the section in *Mixteco alto*, and simply *d* in the material in *Mixteco bajo*. The same sound is probably indicated, for this note is given:

. . . *zodondute*, este en las montañas se diferencia en las letras con que se escribe *zodzondute*. Así se colige de los diccionarios antiguos impresos, y aun de los manuscritos posteriores. [notas, 5]

8. *Mayan*

The early Spanish clergymen in Yucatán employed the *ç* of their alphabet for the *s* of the Mayan language. *Tz* was used for *ts*, and an inverted *c* represented the glottalized *ts'* of Mayan. *C* without the cedilla has always stood for *k*.

Though the first grammarians do not give much information on the pronunciation of the tongue, in the work of the Frenchman, Gabriel de San Buenaventura, we find a few remarks concerning its phonetic system. This writer has such spellings as *serrados*, *prestesa* in the text, and says of *ç*:

La letra *ç*, se pronuncia de la misma manera que la letra *z*, vg. *cambeçt*, *cambez* enseña tu. [*Arte Maya*, 1684]

He might have added, "y que la letra *s*". The indications are that they were all three *s*, as he had learned Spanish.

Just as in other Indian languages of Mexico, the constant *s* of Mayan was first looked upon as *ç* (pre-

vocalic), but was thought of by later writers as *s*, *c*, or *z*. In the grammar of Beltrán de Santa Rosa, we find:

Así mismo careciendo de *s*, usa por ella la *c* con cedilla . . . [p. 4]

The Spanish of certain regions had lost **S** after the linguistic efforts of Landa, Coronel and Ciudad Real were recorded.

9. Huastecan

The Huastecan language is the only one in the group under consideration that today possesses the sound Θ with any regularity. This sound was first portrayed, as far as we know, by ζ later by *z*, and finally by *d* and *th*. However, we have no sixteenth-century comments on the use of ζ for Θ . The grammars of Andrés Olmos and Juan de Guevara are not to be found.

In the *Doctrina christiana* of Juan de la Cruz, who had come to New Spain in 1539, ζ is used for the Θ of the language in question. There are apparently no comments on the letters employed in representing Huastecan.

Tapia Zenteno, *Noticia Huasteca* (1767):

La *z* se pronuncia con todo rigor, con la lengua algo fuera de los dientes, pegada a ellos. Hállase en principio, medio, y fin de Vocablos, como *Zipac*, *Zamzul*, *Tuz*, *Iziz*.

Y en este (como en los demás) de darle a cada término su propio sonido, pende el hablar perfectamente.¹²

¹² Cf. Tapia's wish to discontinue the use of *z* in Mexican, (above, p. 135).

Dr. Schuller has employed the symbol ζ for the Huastecan interdental in his *Notes on the Huasteca Indians of San Luis Potosí, Mexico*,¹³ and Frederick Starr uses both Θ and *th* to portray the phoneme in question.¹⁴ In the *Interprete Huasteco* of Serapio Lorenzana (1896), we find *d* for Huastecan Θ .

The following table contains a few words illustrating the representation of the Θ of Huastecan:

| Spanish | Cruz | Loren. | Alejan. ¹⁵ | Starr | Author |
|----------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--|---|
| Estimar | <i>canęa</i> | | <i>canezal</i> | | |
| Sollozar | <i>cicęol</i> | | <i>ciczol</i> | | |
| Virgen | <i>ęaquilach</i> | | <i>zaquilach</i> | | |
| Escribir | <i>ęuchial</i> | | <i>zuchial</i> | | $\Theta\acute{u}tsum$ |
| Hermano | <i>quięab</i> | <i>quidáb</i> | | | |
| Dar | <i>pięal</i> | | | <i>piΘāl</i> | |
| Maíz | | <i>dám</i> | <i>zam</i> | <i>thām</i> | Θam |
| Nariz | | <i>idid</i> | <i>iziz</i> | <i>iΘ-iΘ</i> | <i>íΘiΘ</i> |
| Leña | | <i>dí</i> | <i>zi, té</i> | | $\Theta i'$ |

10. Other Languages of Mexico

The Spanish letters ζ and *z*, or combinations with them, were used in writing many other languages of Southern Mexico. Spanish *s*, when employed, ordinarily represented \mathfrak{z} in the native languages.

The confusion of ζ , *z*, and *s* after 1600 is attested

¹³ Mr. Schuller describes the ζ as an "interdental (fricative) similar to the ζ of old Spanish." (note 38, p. 140).

¹⁴ *Notes upon the Ethnography*, Appendix III.

¹⁵ *Cartilla Huasteca*, Mexico, 1890. Alejandro says of the letter, "La *z* se pronuncia con todo rigor como la pronuncian los españoles . . ."

by Spanish orthography to be found in the *Vocabulario en lengua mame* of Diego de Reynoso (1644), though *ç* and *z* are written in the native words. These had undoubtedly been collected by someone else years before.

Certain of these terms were homonymous to Reynoso :

Vos, id est, tu . . .
 Voz de canto
 Vocear . . .
 Bosear . . .
 Manza cosa . . .
 Masa de mais . . .
 Masiza cosa . . .
 Baso de beuer . . .
 Baço del cuerpo . . .
 Bien haser . . .
 Flaquesa . . .
 Siervo, venado . . .
 Sierva, hembra . . .
 Pescueso . . .
 Rais . . .

Zembrano y Bonilla, author of the grammar on the Totonacan language (1751), says that the Indians for some reason have always written *ç* or *z* for *s*; and *h* for *j*.

Diego de Nágera Yanguas lists *s* as one of the letters that do not occur in the Mazahuan tongue, but has several combinations with *ç* and *z*.

Even in Western Mexico the *z* is to be found for the sound **s**. In the *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y cora* of Ortega (1732), which is evidently based on an early prototype, the *ç* or *z* stands for an

s, according to the observations of K. Preuss.¹⁶ The word *Ceha* of the dictionary of Ortega is *sex* in the transcription of Preuss. *Pinazt* of Ortega's work is written *Pina* (*s*) by Preuss.

The transcription of languages of Northern Mexico, however, shows *s*, or *ç* or *z*, for the **s** of those languages. These territories were settled after the confusion of the sibilants in Mexican Spanish. The letter *s* is written instead of *z* in the works of García, Rinaldini, and in the anonymous writings in the Piman and Cahita languages.

11. *Chibcha (South America)*

The feeling that Castilian *z* did not correctly represent an Indian sound for which it had been written, was first expressed in connection with Indian languages by Fray Bernardino Lugo, a native of Santa Fe de Bogotá. Father Lugo's grammar of the *lengua mosca*, or Chibcha language, was printed in Madrid in 1619.

Las Letras y caracteres de que se via [*sic*] para hablar esta lengua, son las de nuestra A/B/C/ Castellano, por no auer letras proprias para hablar, ni escribir: porque los Indios, y naturales deste Reyno no tenian vso de escriptura, ni jamas entre ellos vuo tal memoria della, Y asse de aduertir, que los Indios en su pronunciacion carecen de dos letras, que son, D. L.

Sabido pues esto, es de notar, que para pronunciar la Z. del A/B/C/ Castellano, no se ha de pronunciar aguda, como se pronuncia en nuestra lengua, sino pronunciarse ha como la S. y por ser necessaria para la escriptura no se escluye de nuestro A/B/C/

¹⁶ *Grammatik der Cora-Sprache*.

Lugo followed the practice of his predecessors irregularly regarding *z*, but used the symbol *3h* to represent **ts**.¹⁷

12. *Conclusions*

As far as the sibilants are concerned, the outstanding facts revealed by the use of the Spanish alphabet for the transcription of Indian languages of Mexico are that there was a constant distinction made between *s* and *ç* in the work of all Spaniards until about 1600, and that the **s** of some twenty Indian languages was best represented by Spanish *ç*. Spanish *s*, when written, stood for **š** in the native pronunciation, and the latter sound is still heard for Spanish *s* in words borrowed from Castilian during the early years.¹⁸

It is not probable that such dissimilar languages could have all changed in the same respect since the 16th century. There has, therefore been a change in the phonetic pattern of Spanish to the extent that **s**, which was formerly thought of as *ç*, is now thought of as *s*. This change could only come about by an extension of the use of Θ , or by a confusion of **s** and **S**. If **S** had become Θ in sections of the Spanish-speaking world, as Gavel has suggested (see above, p. 131), the writers on Indian languages of Mexico would have referred to the **s** occurring in so many of these languages as a sound different

¹⁷ Cf. Walter Lehmann, *Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas*, I, p. 43.

Also, E. Uriceochea, *Gramática, vocabulario*, etc., Int.

¹⁸ See below, Chapter II.

from either *s* or *ç* of Spanish. Furthermore, we should expect to find the Θ in the Spanish of America.

Today a pronunciation of Θ as **s** is referred to as a *seseo* by Spanish-speaking people who use the two sounds Θ and **S**.¹⁹

Navarro Tomás, Spain's leading phonetician, refers to the pronunciation of **s** for Θ of modern Spanish as a *seseo*, although making a distinction between this phenomenon and the substitution of **S** for Θ .²⁰

According to Gavel, certain Basques who do not have the apico-alveolar **S** in their own dialect of that language, pronounce **s** for Spanish Θ . Others pronounce **S**.

Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, leur articulation incorrecte du *z* espagnol donne aux Castellans qui les entendent l'impression qu'ils prononcent *s* pour *z*.²¹

Although **ts** occurs in many of the Indian languages, it is practically always described as an unusual sound and represented by a digraph. Molina, Córdoba, Gilberti, and other early writers, take special pains to describe the affricative. Córdoba even used *chz* to portray the **ts** that occurs as a variation of **tš** in the Zapotecan of the region of Oaxaca (see above, p. 145). It does not seem, therefore,

¹⁹ Cf. Palacio Valdes, *La Hermana San Sulpicio*. The author of this novel, a northerner, portrays the **s** of Andalusia by *s*.

²⁰ Cf. *Compendio de Ortología*, pp. 76-77.

²¹ *Essai*, p. 322.

that the normal Spanish pronunciation of *ç* was **ts**, much less **tS**.

The writings on Indian languages of Mexico also indicate that the **S** of Spanish began to disappear in Mexico about 1600, and was replaced by the sound of Spanish *ç*, the constant **s** of the Indian tongues. There are indications, however, that the **Θ** of Northern Spain was heard in Mexico City, as well as in Bogotá.²²

As Córdoba noted, the tendencies in Northern Spain were undoubtedly towards unvoicing of the sibilants, for while he was using *z* to portray a **z** in Zapotecan, Andrés de Castro of Burgos employed the same letter, alternating with the digraph *tz*, for a pronunciation **ts**. Castro rarely wrote *ç*. Córdoba's remarks concerning the regional variations in the pronunciation of Spanish are also borne out by an examination of the Spanish of other early writers in Mexico.

Bernardino de Sahagun, from León, confuses *ç* and *z* to some extent. In the *Coloquios* we find:

goço (302)
gozamos (310)
coraçones (307)
corazones (307)
raçon (314)
razon (307)

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, born in Old Castile in 1492, not only writes *ç* for *z*, but occasionally uses *ç* for *s*. In the edition of the *Verdadera historia* published

²² See above the testimony of Carochi, Tapia Zenteno, and Bernardino Lugo.

by Genaro García (Mexico, 1904), are to be found the following terms:

yzieron, azia, hacer, hazer, ezimos veçes
 haçiendas, haziendas
 monteçuma, montezuma
 cingapazinga, cingapaçinga
 guaxoçingo, Guaxozingo
 çed, sed
 cosumel, coçumel
 joan ponse, joan ponce

Alonso de Molina from Andalusia, and Franciso Cervantes de Salazar²³ of Toledo, do not confuse ç and *z*, while Basaleque often writes ç for *z* in his *Arte* and *Vocabulario*. Basalenque was a native of Salamanca. His works on the Matlaltzincan language were written in 1640.

It might be of interest to compare the state of affairs revealed by Córdoba with that portrayed by other grammars written by Andalusians or Murcians during the sixteenth century or shortly afterward.

In 1505, Pedro de Alcalá, who was not necessarily from Andalusia, but who wrote at Granada, transcribed the Arabic language in his *Arte para ligeramēte saber la lengua arauiga*.²⁴ He also wrote a *Vocabulista* of Arabic.

Alcalá's introductory remarks concerning the letters to be used in writing the Arabic remind one of observations given by some of the padres dealing with Indian languages in America:

²³ Cf. *Crónica de Nueva España* (16th century), published by Paso y Troncoso, Madrid, 1914.

²⁴ Reprinted in microphotographic form by the Hispanic Society, New York, 1928.

Estos son los caracteres y nombres delas letras arauigas. las quales todas se puede suplir cõ nñas letras latinas o castellanas. d̃ manera que pa la comun algarauia no ay necessidad delas saber ni conocer . . . todas mas solamente quatro cõuiene saber . . .

He writes four Arabic characters, giving his Spanish spelling of their names, and among them we find Arabic *tha*, which he writes *ce* (with three dots over the *c*), and continues :

. . . cuyos sonos no tenemos ã nño. a. b. c. latino, ni menos con letras latinas se puede suplir buenamente por tanto ay necessidad de conocerlas y sus caracteres y su boz y fuerça pa cõueniblemente pronunciar las palabras arauigas . . .

Mas el son y pronunciaciõ desta letra c. es dela manña q pnũciã la. ç los ceceosos. poniẽdo el pico dela lēgua entre los dientes altos y baxos. Exēplo Tres en arauia dezimos calaca. y no çalaça. [The first term has three points over each *c*.]

Alcalá compares Arabic *ð* to this sound and cautions against confusing it with *d* :

Lo qual esso mesmo se entiende del. ðil. Exemplo. Aquel. ðiq. y no diq q quiere dezir gallo.

Arabic *sin* and *sad* are represented by *ç* just as we found the *s* of the Indian languages written *ç*. Arabic *sey* is transcribed by *z*, just as the *z* of Zapotecan and Otomí was first written *z*.

In the *Vocabulista* Alcalá repeats his admonitions about *Θ* and *ð* of Arabic.

Gavel (*Essai*, p. 287) in attempting to defend his theory that Spanish *ç* was *Θ* at the time, conjectures

that Alcalá was describing an interdental that was less interdental than the Castilian sound.²⁵ If this were true, why did the grammarian choose *ç* to represent a sound, or two sounds (*sin* and *sad*), that are not at all interdental?

The *ç* and *z* of Alcalá were the *ç* and *z* that Córdoba pronounced and that he used in pointing out differences in the pronunciation of Spanish and Zapotecan.

The Spanish grammar of Antonio del Corro (1527-1591) evidently has not been available to Cuervo, Ford, Saroihandy,²⁵ and Gavel, although these writers have quoted from the works of Perceval and Minsheu. The translation of Corro's book is the first Spanish grammar in English, and must have influenced subsequent writers, among whom were Perceval and Minsheu.

Corro, a native of Sevilla, came to England in 1568. His *A Spanish Grammar* appeared in 1590 in London in a translation by John Thorius.

On page 2 of the translation we find:

c. The pronunciation of this letter is answerable (as I think) to a letter which the Hebrews have, which they call çadic. The pronunciation whereof, because it hath been unknown to some: that letter hath been thought superfluous in the Hebrew Alphabet. I am persuaded that it is correspondent to the pronunciation of this Hebrew letter: seeing that the Spanyards when they borrow a worde

²⁵ *Remarques sur la Phonétique du ç et du z en Ancien Espagnol.*

from the Hebrew tongue to use it, they write it with a C.

The sound is produced, he says,

by applying the tongue to both the ranks of the teeth, making the winde go out by force, like many of the Grecians pronounce the letter [sigma].

Of the letter *z* Corro's translator says:

The Spaniards pronounce this letter as the Hebrewes their letter Zaim. And as the Frenchmen pronounce their *s* but with more vehemencie. And as we pronounce our English *z*. Example: Dezir, rezio, azeite. And it keepeth the same sounde, though it be put in the end of a worde: as raiz, perdiz. [p. 13]

It is very probable that the often quoted comparison of Spanish *ç* to *ts* and *ths* in the grammars of Perceval and Minsheu, has its origin in the *çadic* of Corro's work, since that Hebrew letter is ordinarily spelled *tsade*.

Richard Perceval, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (1591):

ç . . . is called cerilla, sounding almost as the Italian *z* . . . or like Hebrew *tsade* as our *ts* in English, but not altogether so strong upon the *t*, *Coraça*, *Coratsa* . . . *cierto*, *tsierto*.

Minsheu, *A Spanish Grammar* (1599):

C . . . is sounded by putting the toong to the ranckes of the teeth, as the French *Viença* or verie neere: the Italian *z* as *diligenza*, *Scienza*. This *ç* is to be so pronounced whether it be at the beginning, end or middle of a word, though *a* or *u* follow: and is sounded as in English *ths* as *çaraguelles* . . . *çoçobras* . . . pronounce thsaraguelles, thsosobras.

Z . . . as the Hebrew *Zain*, from whence it is drawen, and from the Moorish tongue, and is

pronounced as the English *z* . . . so likewise in the end of a word, as *boz*.

Although no comments have been found on the pronunciation given by Corro or his translator, there are various interpretations of the values given by Perceval and Minsheu; though all references are to the second edition of Minsheu's work (1623), never to that of 1599. This, coupled with the fact that in his *Guide into the Tongues* (1617), Minsheu gives *ts* as the equivalent of *ç*, has been the cause of statements by Ford, Saroihandy and Gavel, which would in all probability not have been made had they known of the contents of the grammar of 1599.

Ford says of this situation:

It is remarkable that having in 1617 described the sound of *ç* as *ts*, Minsheu should in 1623 term it that of *ths*. From the latter statement it would appear that *ç* had already acquired a marked interdental quality.²⁶

Saroihandy remarks that *ç* is not compared to the *th* of English before 1623, and adds that a pronunciation of *ths* would be rather difficult to accomplish.²⁷

Gavel reports:

Mais avec un autre grammairien nous allons rencontrer (pour la première fois, croyons-nous) l'indication de l'analogie du *ç* avec le *th* anglais. John Minsheu, auteur d'une grammaire espagnole intitulée, *A Spanish Grammar*, Londres, 1623 . . .²⁸

²⁶ *Old Spanish Sibilants*, p. 91.

²⁷ *Remarques*, p. 206, note 2.

²⁸ *Essai*, p. 284.

Minsheu did not intend to portray an interdental pronunciation by his *ths*, as has been suggested. If such were the case, why did he, after giving the sound a *ths* value in 1599, revert to *ts* in 1617, and then write *ths* again in 1623? The Spanish sound could not have been vacillating to such a great extent.

Perceval uses *th* to describe the intervocalic *d* of Spanish.²⁹

The sound that these grammarians were describing was the Continental **s**, i. e. that of French, German, etc., which has often been differed from that of English. The *t* and the *th* of the English grammarians were devices for indicating the higher resonance of an **s** that is of more forward articulation than the English.³⁰

If the *çadic* is of Corro, it was used rather than *samech*, for the reason that the latter term would probably be pronounced with a Spanish **S**, unless he were definitely acquainted with the Hebrew sound. If the *çadic* is of the translator, Thorius, he was evidently trying to indicate the dental sibilant which is still heard in Andalusia and Spanish America for *s*, *c* (*e*, *i*) and *z*. We find the statement regarding *Grecians* modified by this remark:

I call those Grecians that now adayes teach
the same tongue in Europe.

²⁹ Cf. Dámaso Alonso, *Una distinción temprana de b y d fricativas*, p. 16.

³⁰ Cf. Johan Storm, *Englische Philologie*, p. 43.

—F. Wulff, *Un Chapitre de Phonétique Andalouse*, p. 246.

—F. M. Josselyn, *Études de Phonétique espagnole*.

The *sigma* of Greek is still pronounced by most Greeks like Castilian **S**, but European teachers of that language would naturally tend to substitute **s** for that sound if they did not use **S** in their own speech.

In giving value to comparisons to Italian *z* by Spaniards, it must be remembered that when they thought of *s* of Italian, they undoubtedly considered it **S**, just as most Americans pronounce **r**, but think of it as *t* or *d*, since these letters represent the sound, especially after an accented vowel.

Christóval de las Casas, another Andalusian, while comparing *ç* to Italian *z*, nevertheless does not find any way to represent exactly the *zz* of Italian:

Las dos. *zz*. tienen la pronunciacion como enrrre [*sic*] la. *ç*. cerilla, y nuestra. *z*. ablandandola vn poco. De manera, que por no tener nosotros letra, que justamente le acuda, no se puede dar otra mejor noticia para pronunciarlas.³¹

As late as 1614, Ambrosio de Salazar, a Murcian describes *ç* as **s** and *z* as **z**.

El C tiene tres pronunciaciones . . . ella se pronuncia pegando un poco la lengua sobre el paladar y sobre los dientes de arriba, tirando la lengua hasta los mismos dientes, por que cecear con gracia se permite alas Damas.³²

La postrera letra llamada *ze*, tiene menos poder y auctoridad que el *s*, sola y que el *ç* . . .

The latter, in discussing Spanish *s*, says that it resembles that of English, "bien plus relaché que . . . l's française."

³¹ *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas toscana y castellana*, Sevilla, 1570, Introduction.

³² *Espexo General de la grammatica en dialogos*, Rouen, 1614, Cf. p. 89.

se pronuncia sacando vn poco la punta de la lengua entre el paladar y los dientes de delante, en redondo, ayunandosse del estomago, y de la garganta, y que el viento salga haziendo vn ruido escuro que haga coxquillas saliendo: el s, ayuda mucho a esta letra como avemos dicho . . . zorra, zumbido, Razimo, gozo, . . . Hoz. [*Espexo*, p. 141]

Yo digo pues y afirmo que la ç con cerilla se pronuncia en lengua Castellana como el frances hace sus dos ss . . .³³

Esta palabra de seso tiene dos sonidos, porque la primera se pronuncia como s, y la segunda como, z . . . [*Esp.*, p. 135]

An interesting example of Andalusian tendencies in the late sixteenth century is supplied by the author of *Guzmán de Alfarache* in his *Ortografia Castellana*, printed in Mexico in 1609. Alemán was born in Seville in 1545.

In the prologue of the *Ortografia*, Alemán observes:

Si en el discurso presente hallaren, q lo escrivo diferente de lo q profeso, doi por descargo, q me conviene aqui seguir el paso comun, dejandome llevar de la corriente . . .

Throughout the work there is a confusion between *s* and *z* on the one hand, and between *ç* and *ss* on the other; that is, he keeps the distinction between surds and sonants. Such orthography as the following is found:

mezas (p. 2)
dieztreza (2)
diestreza (3)
azirme (9)

³³ Cited by Gavel, *Essai*, p. 482.

perezozos (20)

forçozamente (26)

Cezar a Cezar (51)

. . . q la braza es la q llamamos ascua, q se haze de la lumbré; i la braça es una medida de dos varas . . . (52)

Alemán describes ç in this fashion:

. . . ç con lo interior de la lengua en el nacimiento de los dientes altos, abierta la boca . . . [p. 53]

In Southern and Central Spain the sounds **s** and **z** were undoubtedly the usual ones, as Córdoba has stated. However, in the Castiles the sonant was evidently lost during the 16th century, and the interdental must have been in evidence in certain regions quite early. If we take the testimony of the grammarians of the Castiles as it is given, we find that both **s** and **θ** were known in the North even after 1600.

Juan de la Cuesta explains in 1589:

ç tiene el sonido rezio y doblado que la *z* y se pronuncia allegando la lengua a los dientes y apretando los dientes algo, porque al tiempo que tornamos abrir los dientes se haze de golpe el sonido della en la punta de la lengua en los dientes.

La *z* tiene su sonido mas floxo, y se pronuncia abriendo algo los dientes y metiendo la punta de la lengua entre ellos que salga la lengua un poco afuera . . . pocos niños hazen diferencia en pronunciar estas dos letras.³⁴

From Burgos, López de Velasco gives this information:

ç se forma con la estremidad anterior de la lengua, casi mordida de los dientes, no apreta-

³⁴ Gavel, *Essai*, p. 297.

dos, sino de manera que pueda salir algun aliento y espiritu . . . si se esfuerça, y adelgándose sale con algun zumbido o siluo: conuiertese en la voz y sonido de la *z*, que se forma arrimada a los dientes, pero no metida entre ellos.³⁵

It will be remembered that Andrés Castro, also from Burgos, used *z* rather than *ç* in writing Matlaltzincan (see above, p. 142). Perhaps he thought of *ç* as the interdental.

Gavel cites other descriptions of Θ , notably those of Antonio de Torquemada, and Juan de Luna,³⁶ but in the work of Juan Pablo Bonet, a teacher of deaf-mutes, we have the best descriptions of *s* and Θ .³⁷

Bonet gives *z* the value of Θ :

Para que pronuncie esta letra ha de poner el mudo la punta de la lengua entre los dientes, y expeler la respiración que salga sin que la lengua se aparte de aquel lugar.³⁸

Of the *ç* he says:

Se forma hiriendo la lengua en los dientes inferiores y arrojando fuera de la boca con alguna violencia la respiración un ceceo suave y sutil.³⁸

Navarro Tomás thinks that Bonet's description of *ç* indicates that this letter was then *predorsal sorda y al parecer africada*.

Bonet confuses *ç* and *z* throughout his work.

Just as the Indians of America heard in Spanish

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 296.

³⁶ Cf. *Essai*, pp. 294-300.

³⁷ *La doctrina fonética de Juan Pablo Bonet*, published by Navarro Tomás in the *Rev. Fil. Esp.* VII, 1920, pp. 150-170.

³⁸ *Doctrina fonética*, p. 169.

S the sound š, so the Jews of Spain used *shin* to write Spanish terms containing *s*, while *samech* was employed, for the most part, to portray ç of Castilian.³⁹ There are apparently no records of the use of *tha* for ç.

Joseph Cheskis, in a discussion of the pronunciation of Old Spanish ç and final *z*, notes that the Jews transcribed their *zain* and *tsade* by *z* and ç respectively, and *tsade* occasionally by *ts*; but that Spanish ç was usually represented by *samech*.⁴⁰ Examples that he gives in which *tsade* is used for ç are ordinarily of the type, *nç*, such as, *Gonçalez*, *Palencia*, etc. Cheskis concludes that because the Jews wrote *shin* for Spanish *s*, the Hebrew *samech* must not have been a pure sibilant:

There was much written on the pronunciation of Hebrew (*samech*) in the middle ages. One thing is pretty clear: it was not a pure sibilant in Spain. Whenever the Jews had to transcribe a pure *s* sound they used the (*shin*) . . . *Castilla* . . . Moreover, if both sounds, ç and *s* occurred in one word, (*samech*) and (*shin*) were used respectively, *sencillo* . . . (*shin*) and (*samech*), *relaciones* . . . (*samech*) and (*shin*) . . .⁴¹

The reason for such a transcription is to be found in the sound of Spanish **S**.

³⁹ Cf. Kurt Levy, *Historische-geographische Untersuchungen zum Judenspanischen*. This writer reports that an apostrophe was often written with the *shin* to distinguish Spanish *x* from *s*. In the 17th century the *semech* began to be used for *s*, and today *shin* is never used to represent *s* of Castilian terms.

⁴⁰ *On the Pronunciation of Old Spanish ç and Final z*.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 232, note 8.

Max Wagner in a study on the language of the Spanish Jews of the Orient says that they were apparently receiving reinforcements during the XVIth century. Mr. Wagner goes on to state that the romances of these people are of origin later than 1492.⁴²

The fact that these Jews do not pronounce Θ in their Spanish today, and the fact that they did not represent ζ by their own interdental, would seem to indicate that they have never known Θ as a Spanish sound. On the other hand, their use of *shin* to portray Spanish *s* reveals that they did know **S**; but the *corriente* of which Alemán spoke must have been in evidence quite early in certain sections of the Spanish population. This *corriente* was a tendency to avoid the apico-alveolar articulation of Spanish **S**.

Levy reports, however, that certain Jews of Smyrna pronounce an *s* of alveolar or prepalatal articulation.⁴³ The sound heard for both ζ and *s* in Valencia and Catalonia, and in other regions of the North is **S**.⁴⁴

In certain sections of Western León the *z* of the orthography of Nebrija is pronounced **z** in such

⁴² *Los Judíos españoles de Oriente y su lengua*. See also, Wagner, *Dialectos judeoespañoles*.

W. Simon, *Charakteristik des judenspanischen Dialekts von Salonika*.

⁴³ *Historische-geographische Untersuchungen*, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Navarro Tomás describes the sibilant of these regions as **S**, except where Θ is also used Cf. *Compendio de Ortología*, p. 78.

words as *cruzes*, *azul*, *doze*, *hizo*, etc. In other regions the pronunciation is δ .⁴⁵

In regions where δ exists along with **z**, there was evidently still a distinction between the surd and the sonant sibilants when the interdental articulation became general.

It is our opinion that the Portuguese scholar, Gonçalves Vianna, has best described the situation of Old Spanish sibilants in relation to the orthography.

J'ai dit que les phonétiques du castillan et du portugais différentes dans leurs phase moderne, se ressemblaient à un tel point dans leur phase ancienne qu'on pourrait les considérer comme identiques en ce qui concerne leur système de consonnes . . . car le ζ de l'ancienne orthographe y était probablement identique au ζ portugais, c'est à dire d'abord à *ts*, puis, par l'absorption du *t*, à *s* (*s* français à peu près). D'un autre côté, le portugais du Sud a dû, comme celui du Nord, posséder jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle les consonnes *s* (différente de ζ) et *Z* (différente de *z*), comme c'est le cas encore aujourd'hui dans les parlers populaires de Tras-os-Montes et d'une partie du Minho.⁴⁶

In a review of Josselyn's *Études de Phonétique Espagnole*, 1907, Gonçalves Vianna speaks of the fact that Josselyn had not made clear the difference that exists between the *s* of French and that of Spanish, and continues:

En comparant les descriptions des anciens grammariens espagnols et portugais, on recon-

⁴⁵ Cf. F. Krüger, *Mezcla de dialectos*.

⁴⁶ Les Langues Littéraires de l'Espagne et du Portugal, p. 10.

nait qu'il n'y avait aucune difference entre le *ç* dans ces deux langues, et le *ç* n'a jamais eu en portugais la valeur du *z* castillan actuel.⁴⁷

In the dialect of Tras-as-Montes, the sibilant of *paço* is **s**, while that of *passo* is **S**.⁴⁸

This theory concerning the former value of Spanish *ç* has also been propounded by Norman Willey in an article, *C and Z in American Spanish*, though this writer evidently confuses the description of **S** as given by Wulff⁴⁹ with that presented by Navarro Tomás.

At the time of the conquest of Mexico, Spanish possessed the three sibilants **s**, **S**, and **š**, with their voiced equivalents, **z**, **Z**, **ž**. As Córdoba has testified, there was a strong tendency in the North to unvoice. Other tendencies, such as the lisping of the **s**, and the guttural articulation of the Spanish *x* and *j*, must have been quite common at the time; but they did not become general until after the establishment of the court at Madrid.

⁴⁷ In *Rev. Hisp.*, XV, p. 853.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gonçalves Vianna, *Étude de Phonologie Portugaise*, p. 46.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Un Chapitre de Phonétique Andalouse*, p. 247.

Willey says that the *s* of the Castiles is normally given the value of a "dorso-supra-alveolar surd fricative." Wulff's description is incorrect: "prédorsale extraalvéolaire fricative convexe sourde." Navarro Tomás describes the sound as "apico-alveolar" and "cóncava," as far as position for articulation is concerned (see *Manual de pronunciación*, p. 81).

The important difference between **s** and **S** is one of resonance. **S** is of a much lower resonance than **s**, as the point of articulation is farther from the lower front teeth.

The confusion of **s** and **S** in Andalusia, according to the testimony of Arias Montano,⁵⁰ Mateo Alemán, Bernal Díaz del Castillo,⁵¹ and others,⁵² must have taken place about the middle of the 16th century, and may have been limited to Sevilla and nearby centers at first. The resulting **s** pronunciation for both sibilants was probably common long before noted, though it was not the general one heard by the Indians of Mexico, as we shall note in reviewing their treatment of borrowed words containing Spanish *s*.

The literature and the comments on the Indian languages of Mexico indicate that *s* and *ç* represented distinct sounds to the early settlers. The *s* of these first colonists was the **S** of modern Castilian, the **S** of Basque. The *ç* was the **s** of the Indian languages of America, the *sad* of Arabic, the *samech* of Hebrew, and the *ts* of English ("not so strong on the *t*"). The sound survives as the sibilant of Mexican Spanish, written *s*, *c* (*e*, *i*), and *z*. The same sound, with slight variations, is the one heard throughout Spanish America. The *seseo* of America is, historically speaking, a *ceceo*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Cuervo, *Disquisiciones*, p. 39. Montano says that about [1570], the young people began to confuse the sounds, but that the older people kept the "good" pronunciation.

⁵¹ Cf. *Verdadera historia*, Ch. CCVI. Díaz speaks of a certain soldier who "ceceaba como sevillano."

⁵² An account written by Andrés de San Miguel (1577-1644), a native of the Province of Cádiz, illustrates the confusion of *ç* and *s* in that region. He writes: *ciempre*, *casi*, *seseo*, *ocasion*, *cabesa*, *forsozo*, *susedido*, *cido*, etc. Cf. Genaro García, *Dos antiguas relaciones de la Florida*, Mexico, 1902.

We have concrete examples of the loss of Spanish **S** in Mexico in the works of Reynoso (1644),⁵³ Martínez (1633),⁵⁴ Vetancourt (1673),⁵⁵ Guerra (1692),⁵⁶ and San Buenaventura (1684).⁵⁷ And though it cannot be said definitely that the loss of **S** in Mexico is due to Andalusian influence, it nevertheless seems very probable that this is the case. Statistics compiled recently by Pedro Henríquez Ureña⁵⁸ show that the Southern element in the colonization of America was very strong; for out of a total of 13,949 names of settlers, derived from various sources, Henríquez Ureña finds that 5,823 (41.7%) were from the North (Castilla, León, Aragón, Navarra, etc.), while 5,938 (42.5%) were from the South (Andalusia, Badajoz, Canaries). The lateral and intermediate regions furnished 2,187 (15.7%).

⁵³ See above, p. 153.

⁵⁴ Though specific examples are not given in the text, this writer often wrote *s* for *ç* in his *Manual* in Zapotecan.

⁵⁵ See above, p. 134.

⁵⁶ p. 135.

⁵⁷ See above, p. 150.

⁵⁸ *Observaciones sobre el español en America* (III).

III

X, J, AND S

1. *Generalities*

In the early transcription of Indian languages of Mexico, Spanish *s* is shown to be more closely related to *x* than to *ç* and *z*.

The former pronunciations of Spanish *x* and *j* have been quite definitely portrayed by the grammarians of Europe who wrote on the subject in the 16th century as **š** and **ž**, but the origin and development of the modern guttural sound was not so clearly pictured. Gavel has come to the conclusion that the transitional sound from **š** to **x**, or **X**, was a pronunciation similar to that of German *ch* in *ich*:

Vers le milieu du XVIe siècle, l'*x* prend, s'il ne l'avait déjà antérieurement, une valeur mi-chuintante analogue à celle du *ch* allemand de *ich*.¹

From testimony of both European and American origin, the outward indications are that the sound **š** suddenly became **x**; yet no one at the time seemed to notice it.²

Gavel expresses the following opinion regarding a possible occlusive element in the pronunciation of the *jota*:

¹ Cf. *Essai*, p. 488.

² Reports of an *h* pronunciation for Spanish *x* have been shown to refer to an **h** in place of modern **X**. Cf. Gavel, *Essai*, p. 439.

À notre avis, la prononciation du *j* initial castillan devait bien correspondre . . . jusqu'à la fin du XVe siècle au moins, à l'articulation qu'on rendrait en graphies françaises par *dj* . . .

It seems to him improbable that the intervocalic *j* had this occlusive element, or at least not after the XIVth century.

2. *Mexican*

Dr. Boas describes the sound that has been represented by *x* in Nahuatl writings as one formed with the tip and blade of the tongue,³ and later in speaking of this sound as compared to that of the Mexican language of Pochutla, Oaxaca, he says:

. . . así es que el sonido de la *x* mexicana se forma de dos clases de vibraciones, las unas anteriores y semejantes a las de la *sh* inglesa, las otras posteriores y semejantes a las de la *j* castellana. Un sonido de esa clase se encuentra también en el zapoteco de Oaxaca.⁴

The writer has noticed the phenomenon to which Dr. Boas refers, in the speech of the Nahuatl Indians in the vicinity of Mexico City; however, he was able to detect this **x** element only before the vowels **o** or **u**, that is, in such words as *xochitl* and *vexolotl* (Molina). In such words as *mixtli* and *xivitl* (Molina), the second set of vibrations was not heard; the sound was **š**. Before **o** it was approximately **šx**.

Throughout the history of Mexican as a written language, the *x* of sixteenth-century Spanish has been used for the prepalatal sibilant. Nevertheless,

³ Cf. *Phonetics of the Mexican Language*, p. 107.

⁴ *El dialecto mexicano de Pochutla Oaxaca*, p. 11.

we find, even in the earliest representations of the tongue, a tendency to employ *s* rather than *x*, especially in the preconsonantal position.

Father Olmos uses *x* for the *š* or *šx* of Nahuatl, but from the following expressed uncertainty, it would seem that he were doing so to abide by a practice that had come down to him:

Arte (1547):

Tambien quanto a la *s* ay dificultad, porque algunos parece que la pronuncian quando escriuan *x*, y no la pronuncian mucho la *x* sino como *s*. Pero si bien miramos en ello, las tales dicciones se han de escriuir con *x*, aunque algunas vezes paresca tener pronunciacion de *s*, no lo es sino *c* y *s*, y este es el valor de la *x* que dize Antonio de Lebrija que vale por *c* y *s*. Y esta pronunciacion parece mas claro en el latin, que algunos, donde esta escrito dixi, pronuncian dici, etc. [Pt. III, ch. 6]⁵

Olmos indicates that *j* was not in the Nahuatl sound system:

Tambien la pronunciacion que nosotros tenemos destas sillabas *ja je ji jo ju*, ellos no la tienen.

Alonso de Molina has nothing to say concerning the value of *x*, though he has spoken of other pronunciations as being strange to the Spanish sound system. In all the works of Fray Alonso, *x* corresponds to the modern Nahuatl *š* or *šx*.

To represent the Mexican pronunciation of certain Spanish words that had been taken into the Indian

⁵ The difficulty that this missionary experienced concerning *s* reveals certainly that Spanish *S* of the period was pronounced more like *š* than *s*.

language in the early days of the colonization, Molina writes *x* for an original Spanish *s*. This, of course, indicates not only an **S** pronunciation of Spanish *s*, but also that the Indian mispronunciation was *x* to Molina.

We also find in the works of this Andalusian the *x* in exclamations of a type that would require a sibilant pronunciation for effectiveness.

Molina, *Vocabulario* (1571):

Ax ax. ay ay. Interjection del que se quexa.

Xi. hao, haola, oyes, adver. para llamar o para dezir a otro que calle . . .

Xij. del q espanta a otro. adver.

Xiuh. exe, para oxear perros.

Xa. exe, para oxear perro.

Axno conetl. burrico.

Hicox. higo, fruta conocida.

Caxtil. gallo, o gallina de castilla.

Molina, *Arte* (1571):

Interjectiones . . . algunas ay que son del que veda algo a otro, como xi. xu. xouh, xiuh, . . . dexalo.

Algunas ay. que son del que da bozes a otro llamandole. hui. nicca, xi. ola. hao. oys. [fol. 82]

Y no tienē ni pnūciā estas sillabas. ja, je, ji, jo, ju . . . asi como quando dezimos juego de naypes . . . [cap. I]

In the works of Bernardino de Sahagún, *s* appears quite often for the sound **š**, especially before a consonant. The following list of terms, most of them from the *Psalmodia*, illustrate the part played by *s* in the writings of Sahagún. In certain of the works of this author, however, *s* for **š** is very rare.

| <i>Sahagún</i> | <i>Molina</i> |
|----------------|---|
| jsqujch | ixquich. todo |
| teupisqui | teopixqui. ecclesiastico . . . |
| temaquistiani | temaquixtiani. librador, salvador . . . |
| teutlanestli | teotlanextli. claridad o luz diuina. |
| ispupuiutilia | ixpopoyotilia. nite. cegar a otro. |
| amostli | amoxtl. libro. |
| sucomecatl | xocomecatl. parra, vid o cepa. |
| suchitl | xochitl. rosa, o flor. |

In the Spanish of Sahagún, *x* and *j* are confused very rarely.

The *Vocabulario trilingüe* of this author has the terms *castilla*, *castillan* or *caxtillan* to denote Spanish origin:

Acenna para molercaxtilla metlatl.
 Asno pequeñocastillan oquichtoch conetl.
 Axedrezcastilla vapalpatolli.

The letter *x* continued to be used through the 16th and 17th centuries, with apparently no remarks concerning its value until the work of Manuel Pérez, though from other languages we have indications that the Spanish sound no longer corresponded to that of the Indian tongue for which *x* had traditionally been used.

Pérez, *Arte* (1713):

Seis son las principales pronunciaciones: La primera es de *T. L.* . . . La tercera es de *T. Z.* . . . Las otras tres, son mas faciles: . . . La segunda es la *X*. pronunciase juntandose los dientes sin pegarlos totalmente, puesta la lengua en hueco, como *Texcan*: puede tambien herir en vocal, *Xalli*: puede ser final, como *Tlapix*. [Ch. I]

Que no tiene *R.* ni *F.* es cierto, pues por decir Francisco, sino son ladinos, dicen: Palanxixco,

y en las XX. consta que no tienen S . . . Para decir Joseph, dicen *Xōxep*, porque no tienen J. [Ch. II]

In the two proper names given by Pérez, we have evidence of a sibilant pronunciation of Spanish *j*, and an **S** value for Spanish *s* at the time that these names had come into the Mexican language.

Tapia Zenteno, *Arte* (1753) :

La *x* o sígasele vocal o consonante, siempre que se hallare escrita en dicción mexicana, se pronuncia distintísimamente, diversa del Castellano y el Latín: hállase en primeras, como *Xacalli*, casa de paja. *Texocotl*, fruta conocida, *Nocax*, mi vaso o mi cajete. Sabráse pronunciar bien teniendo algo apartados los dientes, sin llegar a ellos la lengua, y asentándola toda en lo inferior de la boca, bien abiertos los labios.

Carranza, *Arte* (written about 1800) :

Falta la *x* . . . porque en Castellano se pronuncia la *x*. como *j*.: v. g.: *rexa*, que se pronuncia como desir *reja* . . . y la pronunciación en estas dicciones es mui distinta en Mexicano.

It is interesting to observe the representation of the Indian pronunciation of Spanish terms that had been taken into the native tongue. Some of this type have been quoted from the dictionary of Molina, but apparently they became more numerous, or at least were more often recorded, later in the century.⁶ In the *Vocabulario* of Pedro Arenas are to be found the following definitions:

⁶ For Spanish elements in modern Nahuatl, see F. Boas, *Cuentos en Mexicano de Milpa Alta, DF.*

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| Ajos | <i>ajox</i> |
| Mançanas | <i>montzanex</i> |
| Platanos | <i>polatanox</i> |
| Vn pollo | <i>ce poyox</i> |
| Lienço | <i>Caxtillan tilmahтли</i> |
| Coles | <i>colex</i> |

Antonio de Nebrija observed that the Moors dealt with Spanish **S** in the same way:

Los moros siempre la *x* ponen en lugar de nuestra *s*, y por lo que nosotros dezimos, Señor San Simon por *s*, ellos dizen Xeñor Xan Ximon por *x*.⁷

In the *Colección de documentos para la historia mexicana*, published by Antonio Peñafiel, there is included a group of *cantares* in Mexican from MSS. in the Biblioteca Nacional. In these songs are many corruptions of Spanish terms that indicate not only the Mexican pronunciation of the words, but also something of the Spanish values:

| | Page |
|---|----------------|
| <i>Xampalacizco</i> (San Francisco)..... | 77 |
| <i>Malquex</i> (Marques)..... | 77 |
| <i>Xoano</i> (Juan)..... | 79 |
| <i>Xihuan Pelez</i> (Juan Pérez)..... | 81 |
| <i>tomax</i> (Tomás)..... | 80 |
| <i>Caxtilteca</i> (Spaniards)..... | 86 |
| <i>ton Palay Xihuan inopixpo</i> (Don fray Juan Obispo)..... | 92 |
| <i>Xan Paponlo</i> (San Pablo)..... | 92 |
| <i>Patele Xanto</i> (Padre Santo)..... | 94 |
| <i>celextial</i> (celestial)..... | 94 |
| <i>Spilito Xanto</i> (Espiritu Santo)..... | 100 |
| <i>Tiox</i> (Dios)..... | 105, 106, etc. |

In the collection of *Cuentos en Mexicano de Milpa*

⁷ Cited by Cuervo, *Disquisiciones*, p. 63.

Alta, secured by Dr. Boas, the word *xinola* occurs for Spanish *señora* (pp. 19, 23), and *pato* becomes *patox* (p. 12).

The MS. book of marriages that was kept at the convent of Quauhquechola⁸ has several spellings to indicate the native manner of saying *testigos*, among them: *texdigox*, *yndextigos*, *texttiox*, etc.

If Spanish words of this type had been borrowed from the Mexican Spanish of today, and had been written with the traditional Nahuatl orthography, we should find *z* in place of the *x*.

We should expect to find *sh* for the *š* of Mexican, were it transcribed by an English-speaking person. Such is the case in the account of the adventures of an Englishman in New Spain in the 16th century.⁹ This gentleman speaks of the bread of the Indians in this fashion:

... a loaf of bread made of that country wheat which the Spaniards call Maize, of the bigness of one of our half penny loaves; which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally.

This word is spelled *tlaxcalli* by Molina.

We also find in the account of this Englishman, the terms *Washaca* (Oaxaca) and *Shalapa* (Jalapa), as well as *La Puebla de los Angelos*.

The spelling of proper names by the Spanish historians of the period indicates to some extent the phonetic tendencies of the writers, especially regarding their attempts to pronounce and to reproduce

⁸ See above, Pt. I, p. 72.

⁹ Edward Arber, *An English Garner*.

in writing such sounds as do not occur in their own language. However, Mendieta warns us against accepting the Spanish spelling of Indian proper names as always indicating the pronunciation of the Indians:

. . . se advierte que los nombres de los pueblos en la lengua indiana mexicana no se escriben en esta Historia como los pronuncian los indios o los que saben bien su lengua, porque serían dificultosos para los que no tienen noticia de ella; mas escríbense conforme los pronuncia el vulgo ordinariamente, y así dice *Cuernavaca* en lugar de *Quauhnahuac*. *Guaxocingo* por *Huexotzinco*, *Tlaxcala* por *Tlaxcallan*, *Guatimala* o *Guatemala* por *Quauhtemallan* . . .¹⁰

The historian, López de Gómara, reports that the Mexicans did not pronounce *b*, *g*, *r*, *s*, “y así, usan mucho de *p*, *c*, *l*, *x*, . . .”

The following orthography of Mexican proper names taken at random from the works of Cortés, Díaz del Castillo and López de Gómara indicates to some extent the tendencies.

| Cortés | Díaz del C. | López G. |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| Acapuzalco | Escapuçalco | Azcapuzalco |
| Suchimilco | Suchimilco | |
| Uchilubuzco | Huichilobusco | Vitcilopuchtli |
| Oichilobuzco | ychilobos | |
| Guaxaca | Guaxaca | Huaxacac |
| Tlascala | Tlaxcala | Tlaxcallan |
| Temixtitlan | Tenustitlan | |
| | Jalapa | Xalapan |
| Guaxocingo | Guaxozingo | Huexocinco |

¹⁰ *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 9.

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Guasucingo | Guaxoçingo | |
| | Xalisco | Xalixco |
| Magiscatzin | Mase Escaçi | Maxaxcacin |

3. *Otomí*

Modern Otomí possesses the sound *š*, which has been represented throughout the centuries by *x* or *s*. Fray Pedro de Cáceres wrote *x*, so did the author of the manuscript vocabulary in Gilberti's dictionary (see above, p. 87). Most writers after the 16th century employed this same letter to portray the sound, although there are many misgivings expressed as to the expediency of such usage. There are also remarks to the effect that *j* is not lacking in the language, since it might be written for the *h* that had traditionally been used. López Yepes, a Spaniard, uses *s* for the *š* of Otomí.¹¹

From the *Luces de Idioma Otomí* (see above, p. 88) we have these observations concerning *s*, *x* and *j*:

La *j* decían no faltarle, porque esta palabra *haho*, que significa la zorra, escrita con *h* hace el mismo tono, que escrita con *j*, *jajo*. Luego no le falta. [p. 10]

X—Es comunísima en esta lengua, y se pronuncia, como en el mexicano, con silbidillo.

J—Tiene una como *j* jota esta lengua, aunque se usa muy raras veces, y la tengo por más difícil pronunciación. V. g. *nobjhi*, la sangría. Se pronuncia abriendo un poco los dientes, y llamando un poco el resuello hacia la garganta.

R, S—R ni *s* tiene esta lengua. [p. 82; attributed to Carochi]

. . . la *h* tiene veces de *j*. [p. 87]

¹¹ Cf. *Catecismo*, Mexico, 1826.

S—Asentaba: que esta letra no tenía el Otomí, y que hacía sus veces la *x*. [p. 88]

X—Xixeadá, decía ser como el *sí* de algunos gachupines. [p. 9]

Neve y Molina, *Reglas* (1767):

La *x* se pronuncia ceseándola como cecean su pronunciación los europeos . . .

Ramírez, *Breve Compendio* (1785):

Debo asimismo advertir, que aunque la letra *X*, no tiene nota o caracter especial . . . se debe tener presente, que en dicho Idioma varia de pronunciacion, en el qual se le debe dar la misma, que a la letra *S*, dan los Europeos.

Miranda, *Catecismo breve* (1759):

La *h* sirve de *j*.

La *x*, y la *tz* juntas, se pronuncian como en Mexicano: *xa*, *tzè*.

The references to *euuropeos* and *gachupines* undoubtedly mean Spaniards, and their pronunciation of *s* as **S**.

There are many borrowed Spanish terms reported by these writers, in which the **š** of Otomí, represented by *x* or *s*, depicts a former Spanish **š** or **S**.

From Neve y Molina:

| | | |
|-------|-------|----------------|
| Gato | ..... | <i>na mixi</i> |
| Jarro | ..... | <i>na xarò</i> |
| José | ..... | <i>na Xuxè</i> |
| Juan | ..... | <i>na Xuá</i> |
| Jabón | ..... | <i>xabo</i> |

From the *Luces*:

| | | |
|--|-------|-------------|
| Angel | ..... | <i>anxe</i> |
| Ajo | ..... | <i>axo</i> |
| Nacio, <i>nehe na Andrexi</i> (Ignacio y Andrés) | | |

From the *Catecismo* of Miranda:

| | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| Angel | <i>Anxè</i> |
| Misa | <i>Mixa</i> |
| Semana | <i>ximanêhê</i> |
| Hasta | <i>axta</i> |

From López Yepes :

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Francisca : | <i>Nrzisca</i> ¹² |
| Gato : | <i>misi, mistu</i> |
| Hijo : | <i>tty, batzi, iso</i> |
| Huero ; ra, de color : | <i>Ccastt-ia</i> |
| Isabel : | <i>Ispe, zâbe</i> |
| Jabon : | <i>sábo</i> |
| Judio : | <i>Sódio</i> |

In the following table are listed Spanish and Otomí terms from the anonymous MS. vocabulary in Gilberti's dictionary, with the orthography of López Yepes and Neve y Molina, and the same words as heard by the writer from natives of the state of Hidalgo :

| Spanish | MS. Voc. | López Y. | Neve y M. | Writer |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Blanca cosa | <i>xãttaxi</i> | <i>ttási</i> | | tási, šatá |
| Noche | <i>anxuy</i> | <i>suj</i> | | šwi, nšu |
| Cabello | <i>amasta</i> | <i>sta</i> | <i>na sta</i> | šta |
| Labio | <i>ma xine</i> | <i>sine</i> | <i>na xine</i> | šine |
| Mucho | <i>xangu</i> | <i>s'angu</i> | | |
| Zapato | | <i>Rzesthi</i> | <i>nazèxthi</i> | zešt'i |

The Spanish transcription of Otomí **š** indicates that Spanish *x* was at first a similar sound, but that by the time of Carochi (about 1640), the *x* used in Otomí was different from the Castilian sound depicted by that letter, and like the *x* of Mexican (an *x* with a *silbidillo*). In the borrowed words, and

¹² The *s* of López represents **š**.

their spelling, we have evidence of the fact that Spanish *s* was **S** at the time of the colonization of Mexico.

4. *Matlaltzincan*

The writings on the Matlaltzincan language by Castro, Guevara, and Basalenque, all have *x* for a sound that was represented by *sh* by Dr. Schuller in 1925.¹³ The following terms listed by these men will serve to illustrate the representation of the **š** and of the **x** of this language:

| Spanish | Castro | Guevara | Basalenque | Schuller |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Maguey | | <i>xuni</i> | <i>in xuni</i> | <i>ishuni</i> |
| Nariz | <i>jn maxi</i> | <i>nari</i> | <i>botu maxi</i> | <i>ni máshi</i> |
| Sol | <i>yn yhabí</i> | <i>yahbí</i> | <i>in hiabi</i> | <i>íxhabi</i> |
| Llueve | <i>q mahabí</i> | <i>mahbí</i> | <i>mahabí</i> | <i>gueíxmavuí</i> |
| Pan | <i>in mheví</i> | <i>imehui</i> | <i>in mehui</i> | <i>íxmevúi</i> |

Basalenque gives some information on the guttural sound of the language:

G. falta.

. . . Bien es verdad, que así en el principio de diccion como en el medio allamos que algunas Veçes nos suena G. como gui hi hi. gehui, yo hago . . . pero lo cierto es, que los naturales tienen esta pronunciacion guttural y como para ella no ay letra nos aplicamos al escribir con, g. advirtiendó que se a de pronunciar esta g. algo suave que no sea muy fuerte y suene mas que, H. [*Arte*, 1640]

Guevara in the *Arte* of 1638 lists *patox* and *Diox* as the Matlaltzincan terms for *pato* and *Dios*, and

¹³ *Los Indios Matlatsinca y su lengua.*

Dr. Schuller reports borrowed words such as, *mesha* (mesa) and *shambréno* (sombrero).

5. *Tarascan*

As has been stated (p. 93), Gilberti's dictionary of the Tarascan language does not contain the syllables *xi* and *chi*. *Si* is used rather than the former, and *tsi* instead of the latter. Gilberti also makes a careful distinction between *s* and *ç* and their combinations. An examination of certain cognates shows that *s* is used to represent the same sound before *i* and finally, that *i* is represented before the other vowels by *x*. *Vuatsi* (muchacho) and *Vuache* (mi hijo) are both given in the *vocabulario* of 1559. The following are also found in series:

Charasojete, el saluonor.
Charaxo. ahpeniconoscer a la muger
 por aquel lugar.
Charasiroen el tal lugar.

The use of *s* as a final letter is made more clear by Lagunas' explanation of the purpose of *x* (see below).

Aviso quarto of the *Arte* of Gilberti of 1558 says of *x*, *j*, and *s*:

Esta lengua carece de muchas syllabas ð que vsamos enel romance castellano, assi como son las siguientes . . . Ia je ji jo ju . . . Y por niño, dizen nino . . . y por Ysabel Xapera . . . y por Jacobo dizen Xacupa . . . y por Sãcto Xanto . . .

The above would seem to argue strongly for the fact that Spanish, as Gilberti had learned it and as he

spoke it, possessed the three sounds, **S**, **š**, and **ž**; that *s* was quite removed from *ç* in sound, but more closely related to *x*.

In his *Arte* of 1574, Juan Bautista Lagunas follows the system of orthography adopted by Gilberti, with the exception of the use of *k* to distinguish a velar stop from a palatal, the latter being represented by *c* or *qu*. In his work there are more evidences of the affinity of *x* and *s*:

. . . Y para tercera. Vecs. abreuiando siquier en, estas terceras personas plurales con la abreuiatura *x*. pro Cs, vel, Cs. La qual exercito Siluio en tiempo de Augusto Cesar. [p. 6]

De modo que pues tractamos de letras. Ya dixe en la primera parte en la formacion de verbo, que la *x* servia de abreuiatura para significar terceras personas Plurales. alli se vera. Tambien sirue en todos los principios de dictiones que podia seruir la I. larga: como Xamas que es el Troncho de la Col, o berça, Palma, o del Maguey quitadas las hojas . . . [p. 36]

. . . Y aquella *x* sirue en esta lengua de conuersion por la S . . . mas porque no se nos passe este. *Hàxe* Miren que esta compuesto de *Has* que quiere tambien dezir Tal y de E que es la rayz de Sum, es, fui. [Chap. XI]

Empero, porque no se offusquen en la conuersion de letras, sepan que muchas vezes por guardar la pulicia, hallaran Xaxeni, por Is, Has Eni. Ixa, por Is ha, &c. [p. 125]

The following words from the dictionary of Gilberti were checked over with a native Tarascan for the modern pronunciation. The words were given to him in Spanish.

| Spanish | Tarascan (Gilberti) | Modern Tarascan |
|---------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| diente | <i>sini</i> | šin |
| libro o papel | <i>siranda</i> | širánda |
| camino | <i>xangari</i> | šaŋgár |
| maxcar | <i>xaxani</i> | šašáni |
| muchacho | <i>vuatsi</i> | wátšə' |
| luna o mes | <i>cutsi</i> | kútši |
| animal | <i>axuni</i> | ašún |

The **š** of Tarascan is of forward articulation, hence of high resonance.

6. *Zapotecan*

The Zapotecan language of the region of Oaxaca has the sound **š** varying with **ž** from village to village and sometimes from individual to individual. This variation was noted by Córdoba in the sixteenth century and has been recorded in modern studies of the tongue.¹⁴

The **š** of Zapotecan is generally of lower resonance than English *sh*. The point of articulation is farther from the lower front teeth, and especially before the vowels **o** and **u** is the sound of a deeper tone. Just as in Nahuatl, there is sometimes a second set of vibrations of post-palatal or velar articulation.¹⁵

Córdoba and Feria, the first from Andalusia, and the second from Extremadura, both represented this

¹⁴ Cf. P. Radin, *The Distribution and Phonetics of the Zapotek Dialects*.

¹⁵ See Dr. Boas' mention of this fact in connection with the Nahuatl sound (above p. 175), also Boas, *Notes on the Chatino Language*, Amer. Anth. v. 15, 1913, p. 84, note on **ç**.

š or šx by Spanish *x* in the 16th century. Córdoba was born in 1503, Feria in 1524 (see above, pp. 101, 104).

Zapotecan also has a fricative which varies between *x* and *ɣ*. These sounds were portrayed by the early writers by *c* (*qu*) and *g* (*gu*), and occasionally by *h*, but never by *x*.

Córdoba, *Arte* (1578):

Letras que se semeian . . . A la. s. bueluen en. x. vt tiloxia, pro tilosia. [p. 73]

Interjecciones . . . Silentis xx. xij. Silentis. s del que acalla. xx xij. [p. 74]

Gi. no le ay . . . Sa. se. si. so. su, no ay. [p. 70]

Tambien este gene. vel xene, que vnos la pronuncian. g. y otros. x. quiere dezir ancho o anchor.

In spite of Córdoba's statement that the syllable *gi* was not found in the language, he nevertheless uses it in the *vocabulario* of 1578 (see above, p. 103). *S* occurs rarely. We find the following alternatives indicating dialectic variations, as well as certain sibilant interjections:

Dama casi señora. Xonaxi, xonasi.

Mayz grano, trigo de Indias. Xòoba, xòopa, jòoba.

Poco nombre adiectiuo. Naxija, làci. l. nagija.

Aduerbio para llamar. s. đ heus. haa, hee. xx . . .

Exe como lo dezimos al perro . . . xi, xx, . . .

Oxx para oxearlas [aves]. xxx.

In the following list, words from the dictionary of Córdoba are compared with phonetic representations of the same terms as heard by the writer from natives in the vicinity of Oaxaca.

| Spanish | Córdoba | Teoti. | Mitla | Tlaco. |
|---------|--------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Arena | <i>yòge, yògi,</i> <i>yòoxi</i> | yú:žì' | yu:š | yu:š |
| Cebolla | <i>xijto</i> | ší:ti | ši:t' | šit' |
| Maíz | <i>xòoba, xòopa,</i> <i>jòopa</i> | šó:və | žov, šov | žob |
| Padre | <i>pixoze</i> | šúzə | vəšúz | vəšóz |
| Paja | <i>quixi, guijgi</i> | xíži | γiš | γiš |
| Seis | <i>xopa</i> | šópə | šop' | šópa |
| Ocho | <i>xoono</i> | šxóna | šon | šóna |
| Cinco | <i>caayo</i> | xáyo | γáyo | |
| Siete | <i>caache</i> | xá:tsə | γatš | |
| Nueve | <i>caa. l. gaa</i> | xa: | γa: | |
| No | <i>haca, yaca</i> | | γak' | |
| Fuego | <i>quij, guij</i> | xi' | | |

Bishop Feria's spelling of the above numbers is the same as that of Córdoba, as are other terms that have been found in both the *doctrina* of this writer and the dictionary of Córdoba.

In Oaxaca, the writer was informed by a native Zapotecan that the Zapotecan word for *mesa* was **meša**, and while bargaining for sarapes with a native of Teotitlán, was told that *diez pesos* was to be expressed in the Indian language by **tši: pež**. The word for bread in many localities is **γera'štíl**, undoubtedly a corruption of **γerá'**, the native word for bread, as they made it in pre-Spanish times, plus *Castilla*.

These pronunciations, in a language that possesses the sounds **s** and **š**, indicate that Spanish *s* was

nearer the **š** or **ž** of the Indian language at the time that these words were adopted. These same Indians in pronouncing Spanish as it is spoken today in Mexico, use **s** for Spanish *s*, as well as for *c* (*e*, *i*) and *z*.

Arcadio Molina in his *Principios generales* (1899), gives these definitions:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Mesa | <i>Mesha</i> |
| Jabón | <i>Shabuh</i> |
| Teja | <i>Desha</i> |
| Noviembre | <i>Shandú</i> [Santo] |
| Silla | <i>Shiáh</i> |
| Misa | <i>Misha</i> |
| Sandía | <i>Shandíe</i> |

The *Vocabulario anónimo* (1893) gives *biaax-tilla* as a native word for *Xabón de Castilla*; and in the anonymous MS. *Arte* of 1859, *Xmanna* is the translation for *ocho días*.

7. Mixtecan

The *Arte* of Antonio de los Reyes (1593) has *s* in terms that are written with *x* in religious works of the nineteenth century in the Mixtecan language.¹⁶ In the *catecismo* of Antonio Gonzáles (1719) we find the traditional spelling of the 16th century.

In the prologue of his work, Reyes makes several observations about the various dialects and their differences in pronunciation:

¹⁶ Cf. *Catecismo en idioma mixteco*, Puebla, 1837 and 1892.

La lengua de Tlachiaco achiutla y otros pueblos que la hablan tienen la pronunciación difícil y muy distinta de la de Tepuzculula, donde dicen por comer: *Yosasindi*, pronunciando todas las letras, y en Tlachiaco dicen: *yoj-hajhindi*, y regularmente todos los *dza* de Tepuzculula conuerten en Tlachiaco en *sa*, como: *yoquidzandi*, por hazer, dicen allí: *yoquisandi* . . .

. . . dicen en Tepuzculula *duhu*, o *di*, por primera persona que es yo, dicen en Yanguitlan *juhu*, aunque la pronunciación de los naturales mas se inclina a dezir *chuhu* con *c* y *h*, que no *juhu* con *j* jota . . . y para segunda persona dicen: *choho* en lugar de *doho*.

Por la misma razón, que se pone en la lengua de Tepuzculula la *n* antes de la *d*, se ha de poner en la de Yanguitlan antes de la *j* o de el *ch*, que sirue de lo mismo que la *d* en Tepuzculula, . . . [p. 2]

It is evident from the above remarks concerning the *d* of Tepuzculula as *j* in Yanguitlan, and the similarity of the latter to *ch*, that the *j* of Reyes was not modern Castilian **X**. However, his observations have been construed as meaning as much.¹⁷

Below are presented words listed by Reyes, with the modern equivalents in the dialect of Tlapa, Guerrero, and a few terms from the Mixtecan of the vicinity of Oaxaca:

¹⁷ P. Siliceo Pauer in his *Población indígena de Yalalag, Oaxaca*, transcribes this *j* by **x**, and takes for granted that the *s* of Reyes is **s**.

| Spanish | Reyes | Ángulo ¹⁸ | Oaxaca | Tlapa |
|----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Espaldas | <i>sata</i> | | šáta | šáta |
| Nariz | <i>dzitni</i> | <i>šri</i> | đí'kũ | šiti |
| Pies | <i>saha</i> | | | šá'a |
| Sobrino | <i>dzasi</i> | <i>đashi</i> | | tšáši |
| Tío | <i>dziso</i> | <i>đito</i> | | šitoi |
| Abuelo | <i>sij</i> | | | ši |
| Abuela | <i>sitna</i> | | | štá'i |
| Comer | <i>cusi</i> (dialect) | | | kúši |
| Yo | <i>duhu, juhu</i> | <i>ru'u</i> | Zyú'u, mwěsu | yé'e |

8. *Mayan*

Mayan writings have always had *x* for the **š** of that tongue.¹⁹ In the dictionary of Beltrán de Santa Rosa, are to be found these evidences of an **S** value for Spanish *s*.

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Toro | <i>Xibil uacax</i> |
| Rez | <i>Uacax</i> |
| Gallina morisca | <i>Xmulix</i> |
| Gallina de Castilla | <i>Ixcax</i> ²⁰ |

9. *Huastecan*

There have been as many as four symbols used to picture the **š** of the Huastecan language.

Fray Juan de la Cruz used both *s* and *x*, without noticeable regularity. One finds in the *Doctrina* both *masi* and *maxy*; both *oxil* and *osil*. It may be

¹⁸ From the *Linguistic Tangle and Kinship Terms*.

¹⁹ Cf. Tozzer, *A Maya Grammar*, p. 8.

²⁰ Aloys Nykl in the *Notes on the Spanish of Yucatán*, etc., reports that the general word for cow is *uacax*, and that estancia is *xtancia*.

that there was some influence from one of his predecessors, Mesa or Olmos (see above, p. 115).

Carlos Tapia Zenteno gives the same description of *x* that he had given for the sound occurring in Mexican:

La *x* se profiere algo apartados los dientes, sin llegar a ellos la lengua, y assentándola en lo inferior de la boca, bien abiertos los labios, como *xiil*, *tzaxlab*, *tzux*. [*Noticia*, 1767]

In the *Intérprete Huasteco* (1896), Serapio Lorenzana writes *sch* to portray this sound that is foreign to modern Spanish-speaking people.

Dr. Frederick Starr transcribed the sound by means of the English digraph, *sh*.²¹

The sound **š** in Huastecan:

| Spanish Cruz | Tapia | Z. Lorenz. | Starr | Writer |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Oído | <i>Xutz</i> | <i>schuchun</i> | <i>shu-chun</i> | |
| Todo | <i>Patas</i> | <i>patax</i> | | |
| Cabello | <i>xil</i> | <i>schüil</i> | <i>shī-īl</i> | šī'il |
| Tres | <i>os, ox</i> | <i>osch</i> | <i>ōsh</i> | oš |
| Ocho | <i>guaxic huaxic</i> | <i>guschíc</i> | <i>wāshīk</i> | wášik |
| Si | <i>masi</i> | <i>max</i> | | |

Lorenzana reports these borrowed words:

Vaca*Pácasch*
 Pollo*Pollosch*
 Gato*Mischtú*

10. *Other Languages of Mexico*

Additional examples of the confusion of Spanish **S** and **š** by the Indians are given by K. Preuss in

²¹ *Notes on The Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, appendix III.

his *Grammatik der Cora-Sprache*. He gives as borrowed terms *šantaru* or *šandaru* (gendarme), and *piška* (fiscal).

Comparison of certain words listed by Preuss with the same as given by Ortega (1732), reveals that Spanish *x* was *š* at the time of the first recording of the Cora language:

| <i>Ortega</i> | <i>Preuss</i> |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| Xurabet | <i>šureabe</i> (star) |
| Xuxut | <i>šušu</i> (flowers) |
| Anxube | <i>anšivi</i> (five) |

Jaime de Ángulo, in an article on the Chontal language,²² lists a few words of Spanish origin. In his system of spelling, *ç* represents *š*.

| | |
|--------|--|
| Rabbit | <i>koneçu</i> |
| Week | <i>çamana</i> |
| Chair | <i>çila</i> |
| Hay | <i>sacate</i> (originally Nahuatl) |
| Sugar | <i>asukra</i> |

Early writers on the Tzotzil language of Chiapas used *x* to represent *š* of the spoken language of today, and employed the digraph *gh* for a sound that has been compared to the modern *jota* of Spanish.

In the early anonymous *Cartilla* (see above, p. 118), we find both *x* and *gh*. José María Sánchez, in a treatise on the language,²³ describes *x* as being equivalent to the French *ch*, and compares *gh* of the traditional orthography to Spanish *j* (probably as pronounced in Mexico).

²² Angulo and Freeland, *The Chontal Language*

²³ *La lengua tzotzil* (1895).

Dr. Schuller describes the first sound as a "palatal-fricative", and uses the symbol \mathfrak{z} ; the second he terms a glottal spirant.²⁴

Comte de Charencey seems to be quite confused by the Spanish orthography, and wonders why they had not used more definite symbols in transcribing Tzotzil:

Malheureusement un grand nombre de Missionnaires Espagnols (et nos deux auteurs de grammaires Tzotziles sont dans ce cas) ne sont guères mis en peine d'indiquer graphiquement ces phonèmes étrangers à nos langues d'Europe. Tout au plus, se bornent-ils à rendre par la combinaison *gh*, ou *ghc*, à la fois, le son de la *Jota* Espagnole (*x* grec, *Ch* de l'Allemand) et la détonnante gutturale. Nous ne saurons, bien entendue, entreprendre de les corriger sur ce point et nous bornerons à constater ce qu'offre d'imparfait, leur mode de transcription.

Le *x* a en Tzotzil comme dans beaucoup d'autres idiomes de l'Amérique espagnole, non pas la valeur d'un *c* aspiré comme en Castillan, mais celle de notre Chuintante *Ch*, p. ex. dans *chat*, *chétif*. On prononcera donc *Ixlel* "soeur cadette" comme s'il y avait *Ichlele* ou *ichlel*. Cet emploi de *x* comme chuintante semble emprunté au dialecte Gallego. N'oublions pas que beaucoup des colons notamment de ceux qui vinrent s'établir dans le Centre-Amérique étaient d'origine gallicienne.²⁵

As a matter of fact, recent investigation has shown

²⁴ *Two Unknown Prints of the Ts'ots'il Language*, p. 226.

²⁵ *Sur la Langue Tzotzile et sa Numération*, pp. 601-2.

that a very small part of the early settlers were from Galicia.²⁶

Father Quintana's *Arte de la lengua Mixe* (1729) was surely based on an early prototype, for he says that *x* as used in that language is not like the Castillian *j* of his day:

La *x*, nunca se pronuncia como en Castellano, amodo de *J*. como cuando decimos, Xarro, Xabon, etc.

The *Arte del idioma totonaco* (see above, p. 120) has some interesting comments on the letters in question. The author, Zembrano y Bonilla, who had spent 28 years "en estos Territories de la Cierra del Norte", evidently took some of his information from an older grammar, probably one by Olmos (see above, p. 37). The mispronunciations of the Indians that he describes are pictured in a way that would tend to indicate that they had first been recorded when Spanish *x* and *j* were sibilants, and when *j* was not pronounced like *x*:

. . . los Totonacos usan de la P, por F, . . . y de la X, por J, Xoxep por Joseph. [p. 1]

Referring to the absence of *G*, and *J* in the written language, Zembrano says:

. . . de la G, y J, no usan en lo escripto (no sè porque) . . . pregunto: Tajo por el Rio tajo en que se diferencia de taho hermano menor?

The languages of Northern Mexico were transcribed after the change of Spanish *š* to *x*; for García, author of the manual in the language of the re-

²⁶ Cf. the informative article of Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Observaciones sobre el español en América, III*.

gion of San Antonio, employs the digraph *sh* to represent a sound which he describes in these terms:

La s, y h assi (sh) juntas, indica, que no se pronuncie la s como en nuestro Castellano, sino encorbando, y encogiendo la punta de la lengua, para que no suene como s sola; y bastara que se pronuncie como la x en latín, quando decimos Xaverius. [Advertencias]

In an *arte* on the Tepehuanan language of Western Mexico, we have an interesting transcription of the sound *š* by an Italian, Benito Rinaldini, who uses the symbols that would indicate such a pronunciation in his own tongue: *sci*. The good father not only compares the sound to that of Italian, but by mistake compares it to Mexican *tz*. In the small vocabulary that accompanies this work, are to be found these terms:

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| Dios | <i>Diusci</i> |
| Ganado mayor | <i>Bacasci</i> |
| Ostia | <i>Ostiasci</i> |

The same writer reveals that *j* is used to portray a postpalatal fricative by describing it as having the sound of *x* in such a word as *Alexandro*, "y no como en latín Alexander", and later writing *se juyó*.

11. *Timuquanan, Yungan and Quechuan*

From South America and Florida one may obtain information on the pronunciation of Spanish through examination of the transcription of Indian languages.

Francisco Pareja, a native of the region of Toledo, wrote a grammar of the Timuquanan language of

Florida. The work was published in Mexico in 1614, and contains a few observations on pronunciation :

De la G y X se usa raras vezes; en su lugar sirue la H. Assi como ytuhunu o ytugunu, cagüeta o caheta . . . nihino o nixino. Y assi de otros.

De algunos nombres que carecen, los mezclan con nuestra lengua (aunque son pocos), exempli gratia: xarro dizen saroma . . .

From these remarks of Pareja, it seems that the language had been written before; also that the Indians had learned the word *xarro* from Spaniards who pronounced it **šarro**, and finally that Pareja pronounced the modern Spanish **x** or **X**.

The *Arte de la lengua yunga* (1644) of Fernando de la Carrera, a native of Truxillo (Upper Peru), also depicts the modern sound:

La *x* no se pronuncia jamas como en la lengua Castellana, hiriendo en ella, sino mansamente como la pronuncian los Portugueses como *xi*, *xamic*.

The sound **š** was evidently a strange one to the Spanish of that region of America, but the fact that Carrera had found it represented by *x*, would point to a **š** in the speech of his predecessors, who were undoubtedly Spaniards.

In Peru, the Quechua language was described quite early by Domingo de Santo Tomás, a native of Sevilla. His *Arte de la lengua general del Peru* was published in Valladolid in 1560 along with a vocabulary of the same language. From the intro-

duction to the grammar and the prologue of the dictionary, we have the following:

Unos Indios de vna prouincia dizẽ (*xamuy*) q significa venir: otros en otra prouincia dicen (*hamuy*) enla misma significaciõ. Unos en vna prouincia dizẽ (*çara*) q significa trigo: otros en otra dicen (*hara*) enla misma significacion. Unos en vna prouincia dicen (*xullull*) que significa en verdad: en otra dizẽ (*sullull*).

. . . Y de aqui es que en el pronunciar, muchas vezes vnos pronuncian vnas letras en los terminos, y otros en los mismos pronuncian otras . . . Como ponẽ V, por o, M, por n, Y por e, B, por p, S, por, ç, y otras vezes por, x, La, h, vnas vezes la dexã, como (*Ycma*) por hicma, Omo por homo, Oma, por homa, Amaota, por hamaota, &c.

These remarks in themselves indicate that to this Spaniard, *x*, *s*, and *ç* represented distinct sounds; however, González Holguín, who wrote a grammar on the Quechua tongue (1607), and who was also a Southerner, omitted the *x*, and stated that the Indians use *ç* and *s* interchangeably.

12. Conclusions

s

As Menéndez Pidal has stated,²⁷ there was an affinity between the *x* and the *s* of Old Spanish.

It seems quite certain that most Spaniards of not only the Castiles, but also the lateral and Southern regions of the Peninsula, pronounced **S** at the time of the Conquest.

The fact that the Indians of various linguistic stocks and of different regions reproduced the sound

²⁷ Cf. *Gramática histórica*, p. 99.

as **š** rather than as **s** in words that still live, indicates in itself that the apico-alveolar **S** was the usual one of most Spaniards for many years after Cortés landed.

Moreover, many early writers use the *s* to represent **š** of certain Indian languages; among them, Sahagún (León), Córdoba (Andalusia), Reyes (Zamora), Lagunas (Castile), de la Cruz (origin unknown), and Gilberti (Aquitania). And Olmos (Burgos) would have written this letter but for tradition.

Some of the authors of books on Indian languages of Mexico were born before 1500. This *chuintante* value of Spanish *s* is, therefore, very old. The fact that it exists in territory contiguous to Castile proper; that is, in Northern Portugal, Galicia, Catalonia, Gascony, the Basque Provinces, etc.,²⁸ would indicate that it is of common origin.

Navarro Tomás has shown that the phoneme that has been represented in Basque throughout the centuries by *s*, is practically the same as Spanish **S**, and that the **s** of that language has been written *ç* or *z*.²⁹

It is very probable that this articulation was simply the Iberian way of dealing with Latin *s*, and that Castilian owes this feature of its phonetic system, just as it does its *h* for *f*, to a Basque background.

²⁸ Cf. *Gramática histórica*, p. 85. Also, Navarro Tomás, *Ortología española*, p. 78.

²⁹ Cf. Navarro Tomás, *Pronunciación guipuzcoana*.

The transcription of Indian languages of Mexico presents very little material for a study of intervocalic voiced *s*; however, most of the writers, especially those of the North, do not observe the distinction between *s* and *ss* consistently in their Spanish, even early in the sixteenth century.

As has been stated (see above, p. 172), the so-called *seseo* of Andalusia and America is in reality a *ceceo* of all-Spanish origin. The Spanish **S** that the conquistadores and first settlers brought to New Spain, and which the Indians, in trying to imitate, pronounced **š**, is not pronounced in Mexico today, except by newcomers from Spain.

x

Aside from the observations of Olmos (see above, p. 173), and the fact that certain of the Spaniards used *s* rather than *x* to portray the **š** of the Indian languages, immediate indications are that *x* was approximately **š** in the speech of most Spaniards throughout the 16th century.

We have early indications of a **x** value for Spanish *x* in the works of Carochi on the Otomí language (about 1640), in the testimony of Francisco Pareja (1614), author of the *arte* on the Timuquanan language of Florida; and in the statement of Carrera (1644), with his descriptions of Yunga orthography. But Diego Basalenque, a native of Salamanca, informs us in 1640 that there is no guttural sound in Spanish.³⁰

³⁰ Basalenque let this be known twice in the *Arte* on the

Testimony from Europe seems to indicate that the **x** of modern Spanish was first heard as such in the region of Sevilla.³¹

Mateo Alemán (born 1545) describes the two sounds: **š** and **x**, writing the latter *j*, and rebuking those who continue to write and pronounce *dixe*, etc. He reserves *x* for the final letter of words of the type of *relox*:

La *x* i la *j*, tienen cierta manera de similtud o parentesco . . . algunos las truecan, diziendo *dixe* por *dije*, no advirtiendlo q la *x* es mas tenue, i se pronuncia casi como el siluo, la lengua poco menos q junta con el paladar; i para la *j*, se tiene de retirar, i formarse por entre dientes, con solo el aliento. Nosotros pronunciamos la *x* como los Arabes . . . [*Ortografia Castellana*, p. 74]

Christóval de las Casas, also a Sevillano, but of the preceding generation, compares Spanish *x* to the *sci* of Italian and *j* to the *gi* of that language. De las Casas definitely reveals, however, that the Spanish *j* did not have the occlusive element present in the Italian sound, but that such an affricative pronunciation was heard among the villagers:

La. *g*. con la. *e*. y con la. *i*. suena asperamente de la manera que nuestras aldeanas pronuncian el Sancto nombre de Iesus, assi con aquella aspereza se pronuncia *Gente*, *Angelo*, *Ginebro* . . . q suena mas aspero que nosotros

Matlaltzincan language (see above, p. 183; also, below, p. 219.)

³¹ Cf. Gavel, *Essai*, p. 488.

pronunciamos jamas, joya, jurar, como la pronunciacion rustica que dixe.³²

Antonio del Corro, another writer from Sevilla, compares Spanish *x* to English *sh* and Castilian *j* to English *g* (*e*):

X . . . to pronounce this letter well, a man may note how the Frenchman pronounceth *ch* which is much like the English *sh* . . . [*A Spanish Grammar*, p. 12]

G . . . But when the *g*, is set before *e* or *i* it is pronounced as *g* in English in this worde, Gentleman, George . . . [*ibid*]

Thus a change must have taken place in the pronunciation of *x* and *j* after the middle of the century, as far as the region of Sevilla was concerned, but to Diego de Basalencque of Salamanca, the normal sound was not the guttural as late as 1642.

Doergank,³³ a German, and Owen,³⁴ an Englishman, both describe the guttural sound as the normal one, while Juan Pablo Bonet in 1620 definitely gives evidence that he pronounced *g* (*e*) as *š*.³⁵

Was this new pronunciation a product of Sevilla? Was there a sudden change in the place of articulation? What was the transitional sound, if any?

It will be remembered that Father Olmos, a native of the region of Burgos, had said in 1547:

Tambien quanto a la *s* hay dificultad, porque algunos parece que la pronuncian quando es-

³² *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas castellana y toscana*, (Introd.)

³³ *Institutiones in Linguam Hispanicam*, Cologne, 1614.

³⁴ Cited by Ford, *Old Spanish Sibilants*, p. 156.

³⁵ Cf. Navarro Tomás, *Doctrina Fonética*, p. 172.

criuan *x*, y no la pronuncian mucho la *x* sino como *s*.

The Nahuatl sound **š** seemed to lack something that was present in the articulation of *x* as Olmos knew it. Much of the rest of his statement regarding *x* and *s* indicates that the **š** of Mexican was not exactly like his Spanish *x*, for he attempts to correlate it with Latin *x* as described by Nebrija:

Pero si bien miramos en ello, las tales dicciones se han de escriuir con *x*, aunque algunas vezes parezca tener pronunciacion de *s*, no lo es sino *c* y *s*, y este es el valor de la *x* que dize Antonio de Lebrija que vale por *c* y *s*. Y esta pronunciacion parece mas claro en el latin, que en algunos, donde esta escrito dixi, pronuncian dicsi, etc.

Nahuatl has a variation of the pure sibilant **š** which might be represented by **šx** (see above, p. 175). This pronunciation is very common especially before the back vowels. It is certain that the **š** pronunciation would, rather than the **šx**, give a Spaniard the impression of **S**, unless he also pronounced **š**. We are inclined to believe, therefore, that the **šx** pronunciation of Nahuatl corresponded more to the Spanish *x* as pronounced by Olmos.

Sahagún, Reyes, and other Northerners occasionally wrote *s* for the **š** of an Indian language. And there are indications from Europe that *x* in certain regions had a guttural sound as a part of its make-up.

Ambrosio de Salazar, a Murcian, differentiates the Spanish *j*, which he apparently pronounced like *x*, from the French *ch* in this fashion:

La letra j o i jota se pronuncia como ch, en Frances o poco va a dezir, saluo que sale vn poco de la garganta el viento vn poco grueso retirando el estomago adentro echando el viento por entre el paladar y la lengua la boca vn poco abierta . . . jaualy, se pronuncia tambien como g y x. [*Espexo*, p. 105]

César Oudin says of the Castilian *j*:

. . . j . . . se prononce quasi chota retournant la pointe de la langue vers le haut du palais, & au dedans de la gorge. [*Grammaire Espagnole*, 1610]

López de Velasco of Burgos also speaks of a guttural sound, and differs the Spanish *j* from the *estranjera*.³⁶

Due to the fact that many of the Indian languages which were written by the Spaniards possess the sound *x* (German *ch* of *ich*), and that this sound was represented by *h*, *c*, *g* (*gu*), or *gh*, we are inclined to believe that the phoneme suggested by M. Gavel (see above p. 174) was not one proper to Castilian until late in the 16th century, and then only in the South, with the *relajo* in pronunciation which is characteristic of that region. Such a sound is often heard in the Spanish of Mexico today before the vowels *i* and *e*, in such words as *Méjico*, *gente*, *giro*, etc., but in Mexico, as in Andalusia, the tension of the organs of speech in consonantal pronunciation tends to be slight.³⁷ Such a sound, it seems, would

³⁶ Cf. Gavel, *Essai*, pp. 466, 474.

³⁷ Cf. Navarro Tomás, *Comp. de Ortología Esp.*, pp. 41-42.

not be compatible with the energetic articulation of the North of Spain.

Though there is no connection, we are prone to think that Spanish *x* was in Castile proper a sound similar to Nahuatl **šx**; that is, a palatal fricative made up of two sets of vibrations, one prepalatal and sibilant, and the other post-palatal or velar.³⁸ With the *relajo* in the pronunciation of **S** by the Andalusians after the middle of the 16th century, there was evidently a slighting of the sibilant element of the *x*, which had already been confused with *j* in most of the Spanish-speaking world. This tendency to slight the first element of the sound was undoubtedly common in New Castile and Andalusia, but probably reached the lateral regions last.

A comparison of this development suggested might be made with the American-English articulation of *l*, which in the preconsonantal and final positions is usually velar, and in the speech of many, especially in the North, it is becoming velar initially and in the intervocalic position. The sound, nevertheless, is always thought of as *l*.

J

The letter *j* is not written often as a consonant in the transcription of the Indian languages of Mexico. In the work of Córdoba, however, it is used, as is *g* (*e, i*), to represent **ž** of Zapotecan.

³⁸ Schuchardt has expressed the opinion that the Spanish *x* was made up of two sounds, but gives the order *guttural-dentaler*. Cf. *Cantes Flamencos*, p. 315.

Gilberti, Pérez, Zembrano, and others list accounts of the mispronunciation of Spanish that point to *j* as the voiced equivalent of *x*. Olmos, Molina, and others state that *j* did not exist in a language whose *š* was written *x* by these men, while Juan Bautista de Lagunas of Old Castile remarks that the *I larga* might be used for the *š* of Tarascan. Lagunas was writing in 1574.

In the history of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and occasionally in the work of Sahagún, we find *x* written for the *j* of the orthography of Nebrija.

While the unvoicing process must have been gradual in the Castiles, the changes from *ž* to *šx* to *x* in Sevilla and surrounding territory were probably rather sudden, if we are to believe the testimony of the grammarians. Córdoba, Alcalá, Corro, and de las Casas, all describe two sounds: *š* and *ž*, in dealing with Zapotecan, Arabic, English and Italian. But Mateo Alemán of the next generation, while admitting that some people pronounced *š*, insists that the correct pronunciation of *j* is *con solo el aliento*.

IV

B AND V

The confusion of *b* and *v* evidently occurred quite early in Old Castile. Following the general direction of Castilian tendencies of speech, this same confusion was finally felt in the southern part of the Peninsula, but not until the 17th century does the distinction cease to be made in texts from New Castile and Andalusia.¹

Navarro Tomás is of the opinion that the *v* (*u*) in the orthography of Nebrija, for instance, represented a bilabial voiced fricative like that of modern Spanish *b* and *v* in the intervocalic position.² On the other hand, Gavel believes that *b* and *v* had, before the confusion of the sounds, values analogous to those of the same letters in French; that is, that *v* was labio-dental rather than bilabial.³ M. Gavel points out that in Asturias and in the region of Sevilla, the pronunciation of the fricative is, in the speech of many persons, a labio-dental.

A. Espinosa reports that the *b* and *v* represent a bilabial fricative as the spirant sound in the New Mexican Spanish:

In New Mexican Spanish *b* and *v* represent a voiced bilabial explosive (*b*), when initial in

¹ Cf. Gavel, *Essai*, pp. 171-174.

² *Compendio de Ortología Española*, p. 67.

³ *Essai*, pp. 163 and 165.

a breath group or when they follow *m* or *n* (= *m*). In all other positions they represent a voiced bilabial fricative (*v*), often very weak and frequently disappearing when intervocalic.

This New Mexican Pronunciation of *b* and *v* is the same as the Castilian.

The labio-dental fricative *v* is unknown in New Mexican Spanish, which is additional proof that the same was unknown in the Spanish of the XVth and XVIth centuries. (*Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, par. 99)

The fact that a certain pronunciation is heard in New Mexico today is not proof that it was the usual one in Spain in the XVth or XVIth century, for we have seen that changes occurred in the Spanish of America after the Conquest. Furthermore, the fricative sound heard for *b* and *v* in the speech of the Mexicans of Northern Mexico, Arizona, and Texas, is usually a sound slightly different from the *v* of the native of Castile, León, Navarra, etc. The writer was struck with this difference when, having learned Spanish as a child on the Arizona-Mexico border, he heard for the first time this sound from a native of Salamanca. The fricative in such a word as *palabra*, is in the pronunciation of most Mexicans, a bilabial, but the lips are much more tightly drawn than in the articulation of the Northern-Spanish *v*. This same pronunciation has been heard from natives of New Mexico.

The transcription of Indian languages of Mexico indicates that most writers at least *felt* the distinction between *b* and *v* throughout the sixteenth century.

Nearly all early writers on the Nahuatl language

speak of the fact that *v consonante* did not exist except in the pronunciation of the women of Mexico and Texcoco. The *v* was used by Olmos, Molina, Sahagún and others at the beginning of the 16th century for **w** prevocalic. The sound that was represented by these men by *vi*, and by later authors by *hui* is described by Dr. Boas as a prepalatal fricative (surd) with resonance gliding from **u** to **i**.⁴

In the pronunciation of modern Nahuatl, as far as the writer has been able to determine, the only difference that exists between the pronunciation of the men and that of the women is one of perhaps more occlusion in the case of the women—a more delicate articulation. According to Prof. Porfirio Aguirre of the Museo Nacional, himself a Mexican of Nahuatl speech, the pronunciation of the women is that of a bilabial fricative resembling Castilian **v**.

Let us examine the testimony of the Spanish clergymen on this point.

Olmos, *Arte* (1547):

Y en todas essotras prouincias no tienen *v* consonante, y las mugeres mexicanas y tetzucanas la pronuncian y no es buena pronunciacion. Ex.: dizen *Xiualhmovica*, y auian de dezir *Xiualhmouica*. Y por esso quitamos del *abece* la *v* consonante, porque donde se pronuncia no es bien pronunciada y seria antes abuso que buen uso. [Pt. III, ch. 6]

Molina, *Arte* (1571):

. . . Los varones, no vsan de, *v*, consonante, aunque las mugeres Mexicanas, solamente, la

⁴ Cf. *Phonetics of the Mexican Language*, p. 107.

vsen [*sic*]. Y assi dizen ellos veuetl, que es atabal, o tamborin, con solas dos sillabas. [prologue]

Rincón, *Arte* (1595) :

. . . ni tampoco usan la. v. consonante, . . .

Carochi, *Arte* (1645) :

Los varones no pronuncian la *v*, consonante, como en la lengua Castellana se pronuncian las dos *v*, *v*, de la palabra *viuo*, porque toca vn poco en la pronunciacion de la *v*, vocal : pero tan poco que no haze syllaba de porsí ; y assi esta palabra *veuetl*, que significa atabal, a tamboril es de dos syllabas y no de quatro : y para que no se pronuncie esta *v*, consonante como en Castellano, se le suele anteponer vna *h*, como *huehuetl*, y *huehue*, viejo. Pero las mugeres Mexicanas pronuncian la *v*, consonante como se pronuncia en la lengua Castellana. [Ch. I]

Carranza, *Arte* (about 1800) :

Estas dicciones *va*, *ve*, *vi*, *vo*, *vu*, en Castellano se pronuncian como si se escribieran con B. v. g. : *vivo*, como si dixeran *bibo* . . . y assi pronuncian los hombres : *hua*, *hue*, *hui*, *huo*, *hui*, como si dijieran *gua*, *gue*, *gui*, *guo*, *guu* . . . *huehue*, significa el viejo o ansiano, y lo pronuncian los hombres como si dixeran *guegue*, y las mugeres disen con suavidad, ue-ue, . . .

Olmos' reference to the bilabial of the Mexican women as a bad pronunciation might mean that to him *v* was correctly pronounced in another way. Otherwise, the indications are that this **w** with labial friction sounded like *v consonante* to the Spaniards, and like *v* "como se pronuncia en la lengua Castellana" to the Italian.

In the list of terms from the *Cantares en Idioma*

Mexicano (see above, p. 180) there are several which have *p* for Spanish *b*, while such words as *cauallo* are usually reproduced in early documents as *cauallo*, *cauayo* or *cahuayo*. These examples from the *cantares* indicate an explosive value for Spanish intervocalic *b*:

ton Palay Xihuan inopixpo (Don Fray Juan Obispo)

Xan Paponlo (San Pablo).

From Gilberti we have this information about the mispronunciation of certain sounds by the Tarascans:

Esta lengua carece de muchas syllabas ð que vsamos enel romance castellano . . . y por niño dizen nino, o niya, y por Ysabel Xapera . . . y por Iacobo dizen Xacupa: y por cauallo cauayo.

Andrés de Castro, from Burgos, maintains the distinction between the *b* and *v* of Matlaltzincan, judging by the notes of Schuller (see above, p. 92), however, one of the terms written *b* by Castro is *vu* in the list of Schuller.

We have the following comparisons to make:

| Spanish | Castro | Schuller |
|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Pan | <i>in mhevi</i> | <i>ixmevui</i> |
| Llueve | <i>yn ma haby</i> | <i>gueixmazui</i> |
| Aguacero | <i>yn ma haby</i> | |
| Llover | <i>q mahabi</i> | |
| Luna | <i>in bbaa</i> | <i>in boe</i> |
| Casa | <i>ynbaany</i> | <i>in bote mani</i> |

Diego de Basalencque of Salamanca, who wrote on this language in the 17th century, confused *b* and *v* in his Spanish, writing *lluebe*, *abrebiado*, etc.

In the *arte* and *vocabulario* of Juan de Córdoba, there is an argument for a pronunciation other than bilabial for Spanish *v*, unless Zapotecan has changed with regard to the articulation of its **v**. In the *Arte* are these statements:

va. ve. No ay. [p. 71]

Mutaciones de letras y sillabas que ay en los verbos . . . la b por p . . . [p. 72]

In the dictionary of this Andalusian are such sets as *Penicola. l. benignola; pela, bela; peni, beni*, etc.

The Zapotecan tendency today is to pronounce a bilabial fricative like Spanish **v**, or to pronounce an occlusive **b** in words spelled with *p* or *b* in Córdoba's dictionary. The occlusive sound is likely to be confused with **p** to the ear of an English-speaking person, for there is ordinarily no aspirated release to the initial consonant.

P, B, and V in Zapotecan

| Spanish | Córdoba | Mitla | Tlaco. | Teoti. | Cartilla ⁵ |
|---------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Carne | <i>pèla, bèla</i> | bél | bel | béla | <i>baalá</i> |
| Hermano | <i>pèche</i> | pets | véts | pétsu' | |
| Maíz | <i>xòoba, jòoba</i> | šov | žob | šó:və | |
| Padre | <i>pixoze</i> | vəšúz | vəšóz | šúzə | <i>vixuse</i> |
| Perro | <i>pèco</i> | | béko | béko | |
| Uno | <i>tobi</i> | tov | | tóvi | |
| Cuatro | <i>taɸa</i> | tap' | | tápa | |
| Plátano | <i>pitohua</i> | viđúa | | | |
| | <i>castilla</i> | | | | |

From the list of borrowed words of López Yepes (see above, p. 185) *sabo* (Jabón) and *Ispe, zabe*

⁵ Written in 1856 and bound with the *Gramática anónima*.

(Isabel) reveal an occlusive pronunciation of intervocalic *b*.

The usual term for cow in Mayan is **wákaš**, but Lorenzana reports *Pacasch* in Huastecan, a related tongue (see above, p. 195).

In 1609 Mateo Alemán, writing in Mexico, reported the confusion of the letters in question:

Mudaron los imperitos en *v* la *b*, como de ordinario se practica y mas en Castilla la vieja donde andan confusas estas dos letras como en Andaluzia la *ç* i la *s*.

. . . la *v*, se pronuncia, hiriendo el labio de abajo, acompañado de la lengua, en los dientes altos . . . [*Ortografía castellana*, pp. 21 and 52]

Bernal Díaz del Castillo (born in 1492) writes *b* and *v* almost interchangeably (Cf. *Historia*, edition of García, Mexico, 1904).

Through *b* and *v* were undoubtedly pure labials from very early times in the original Castilian territory north of Burgos, there must have existed in other parts of Spain, particularly the South, a distinction between a bilabial stop and a labio-dental fricative, just as these sounds are to be heard in the lateral regions of the Peninsula. Like other peculiarities of the speech of Old Castile, the labial **v** became the general one in most of Castilian territory.

V

H

The Spanish *h* for Latin *f* was in all probability due to an Iberian-Basque background for the peculiar dialect of the Peninsula that later became the national speech. This phenomenon, like others of the region north of Burgos, became quite general in the 15th century, having taken the direction of the reconquest.¹

In the literature on Indian languages of Mexico, the *h* has completely supplanted the former *f*, even in sporadic examples before *ue*. In the dictionary of Córdoba, *huego* is given with *fuego*, and the pronunciation indicated by the first term is still a very common one in parts of Mexico. *Hebrero* occurs very often in early American printing.

The use of *h* in the Spanish of the early writers of our group of Americanists seems to be quite consistent with the spelling of Nebrija, as far as their Spanish is concerned; however, we are to note an early tendency among certain Northerners to omit the letter. Sahagún sometimes writes *azer*; Bernal Díaz often omits the letter, especially in dealing with the forms of *hazer*, for we find in his *Verdadera historia*: *azia*, *ezimos*, *yzieron*, etc.

¹ Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, pp. 219-240.

Also, J. H. English, *The Alternation of H and F in Old Spanish*.

H has been written in the portrayal of the Indian languages for not only **h** and **x**, but also to represent the glottal stop that is so common in certain tongues.

The outstanding fact revealed by the attempted spelling of aspirates, and palatal and velar fricatives of the native languages, is that *h* fulfills a purpose during the 16th century for which *j* is thought more appropriate later.

Molina and Sahagún are very sparing in their use of the letter *h* in representing Nahuatl pronunciation, employing it only to indicate the aspirate with palatal stricture that occurs at the end of certain syllables. They do not indicate the glottal stop.

Andrés Olmos, writing on the speech of Tlaxcala, where the aspirate has always been prominent,² uses the *h* a great deal, and has much to say concerning it.

Olmos, *Arte* (1547):

Unas vezes en esta lengua sera menester añadir letras, y otras vezes se perderan, y una de las letras que se añaden es la *h*, de la qual dire lo que siento. . .

Tambien es de notar que la *h* en esta lengua nunca se halla en principio de diction. Pero hallase en fin y en medio de diction. Quando se hallare en fin, siempre se escriuira despues de la vocal. Ex.: *nicah*, yo estoy.

Pero si la *h* estuuiere en medio de diction y tuuiere la vocal alguna consonante antes de si que la hiera en ella, entonces la *h* se pondra despues de la vocal porque herira de reflexo, pues tiene la vocal antes de si consonante que

² See comments of Rincón and León, below. Dr. Boas reports that the *h* is heard in Morelos rather than the glottal stop (*Phonetics of the Mexican Language*, p. 107).

la hiera de directo. Ex.: *tlahtoani*, señor, y no escribiremos *tlatoani*.³

Tambien es de notar que quando alguna diction acabare en *l*, despues de la *l* se ha de escriuir *h*, porque los naturales pronuncian mas que *l*, y parece ser pronunciacion de *h*. Ex.: *nocalh*, mi casa. Pero quando se siguiere luego otra diction que comience en vocal no se escriuira *h*, porque entonces tiene la *l* su simple pronunciacion, y no se pronuncia *h* . . .⁴

Rincón, a native of Texcoco, speaks of the aspirate of Tlaxcala in connection with his discourse on the *saltillo*.

Rincón, *Arte* (1595):

Accento del saltillo es, quando la syllaba breue se pronuncia con alguna aspereza como, *tlacotli*.

Esta aspereça no es del todo. H. hablando propriamente porque en la prouincia de Tlaxcalla, y en algunas otras apartadas de Mexico pronuncian este Spiritu aspero muy affectadamente de manera que no solo es. H. mas aun pronunciada con mucha aspereça y fuerça verbigracia, *tlacohtli*, y por esta causa con mucha raçon algunos han llamado, a este espiritito aspero el saltillo, porque ni del todo a de ser. H. como en Tlaxcala ni suspension de la syllaba, como algunos han dicho.

Martín León evinces a great deal of concern about the use of *h* before *u* to differ the pronunciation of

³ The second form is, however, the usual one in the work of writers on the language of Mexico and Texcoco, since the glottal stop occurs after the vowel *a* of this term in the speech of the Valley.

⁴ The surd **L** to which Olmos refers has been represented in modern Nahuatl by González Casavova in his *Cuentos en mexicano de Milpa Alta*.

the men from that of the women. His endeavor to correct the spelling of the first padres seems to indicate that he knows less about the matter than they, and that he was not very well acquainted with a real aspirate, for he says that the men pronounce *huehuetlan*, while the women say *veuetlan* (*Camino del Cielo*, 1611).

Carochi, *Arte* (1645):

La *h* antepuesta a esta *u*, no la aspira, porque en la lengua Mexicana no ay esta aspiracion, sino es en algunas palabras, quando al fin dellas se pospone a la *u*, como *auh*, y *iniuh*, *nāuh*, mi agua. Y en los preteritos acabados en *uh*, *Onitlapouh*, he contado.

Avila, *Arte* (1717):

En lugar de la *J*. (pronuncian) *H*. y assi dicen Huesus: por decir Jesus.

Tapia Zenteno, *Arte mexicano* (1753):

. . . la *H*, la pronuncian algunos tan asperamente como los Tlaxcaltecas, y Cholultecas, que hablan peor lengua, que la Serrana, pues . . . que la hace parecer *J*. pronunciando *tejuatl* por *tehuatl*, al modo, que algunos en nuestro Castellano barbaramente pronuncian *jorno*, por *horno*, o como algunos todos los vocablos escritos con *H*. aun en el latin, y assi dicen *Joc* en lugar de *Hoc*, *Jomo* en lugar de *Homo*.⁵

In the dictionary of Gilberti (1559) *h* is used for the preconsonantal and initial aspirate that occurs in the Tarascan language, and to indicate the aspirated release characteristic of certain affricatives and stops.

⁵ The Nahuatl terms used by Tapia as illustrations of this *bárbara* pronunciation have never had an aspirate, and were written by the first Spaniards with *v* or *u*.

The aspirated release is very similar to that heard in such English words as *time*, *tame*, *papa*, *child*, etc.

The following words were pronounced for the writer by a Tarascan Indian:

| Spanish | Gilberti | Writer |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Mano | <i>hahqui</i> | háhki |
| Frijoles | <i>thatsini</i> | t'atšíni |
| Polvo | <i>thupuri</i> | t'úpuri |
| Cebolla | <i>thzurupz</i> | ts'úrups |
| Cabeza | <i>ehpu</i> | éhpu |
| Cuatro meses | <i>than cutsi</i> | t'angútši |

The *Catecismo Guadalupano español y tarasco* (1891) has this description of *h*:

h . . . suena como *j*, v. g.: Huni huhúmeni, se lee Juni, Jujúmeni, finalmente, estando pospuesta a *k*, *p*, *q*, *t*, les aumenta su sonido o se pronuncian estas letras emitiendo con fuerza el aliento, v. g.: *khahatani*, *phaani*, *qhueni*, *thireni*.

From Juan de Córdoba, who was born in 1503, we have probably the most important statement of all:

. . . los de Castilla la vieja dizen . . . alagar y en Toledo halagar. (See above, p. 145)

In the *Arte* and *Vocabulario*, Córdoba uses *h* in certain interjections, and to represent a pronunciation that is today **x** or **γ**.

A, interjection desiderantis, ha.

A, a. pronunciando en la garganta. l. ha, ha.

Aduerbio para llamar. s. ð heus. haa, hee.

xx. hai, hee. La muger hij.

Faz o haz . . .

Fuego o huego

No, aduerbio negatiuo. Haca, yaca, ya . . .
(**γak'**)

Antonio de los Reyes (of Zamora) indicates that he at least knew the aspirate, while referring to the glottal stop of Mixtecan, which he wrote *h*.

Solo se puede notar acerca de innumerables vocablos que se hallaran en esta lengua que por mas claridad se escriben con *h* antes de la vocal, y no por eso se ha de entender, que es aspiracion, sino que la pronunciacion ha de ser de tal suerte que parezca dexar la vocal sola . . . pero como en nuestra lengua Castellana se escribe desta manera, muchos dias ha, sin ser aquella *ha* aspiracion sino que al parecer se declara mejor ansi lo que se escribe, se puede tambien escriuir en la Mixteca con la *h* para las vocales, y comunmente se vsa esto entre los curiosos de la lengua. [*Arte*, 1593]

The **h** of Mayan was always written *h* by the missionaries during the early centuries.⁶ San Buenaventura compares it to the *j* of Castilian:

La *h* se ha de pronunciar siempre con aspiracion, por ser casi la misma, que nuestra jota. [*Arte*, 1684]

Diego de Basalenque of Salamanca, after remarking that Spanish had no letter with which to represent the guttural sound of Matlaltzinca (see above, p. 183), speaks of the facility with which the natives pronounce *h*.

H

Esta letra es la que mas combiene a esta lengua y de la que mas usan, porque como usan tanto de garganta en la pronunciacion, y esta letra se forma en la garganta . . . Cuando los niños de le trean nuestra cartilla, ninguna cosa pronun-

⁶ Cf. Tozzer, *A Maya Grammar*, p. 8.

cian mas cabal mte que las dichas letras en lo qual los españoles tienen descuido y aun los latinos . . . porque de ordinario pronuncian los Españoles con labios y dientes y no con la garganta. [*Arte*, 1640, fol. 6]

The material from Europe regarding the loss of *h* has been considered by Gavel (*Essai*, pp. 185-193). However, the grammar of Corro, which evidently was not available to him, has the following on *h*:

This letter of aspiration retayneth the common pronounciation of all other tongues. Yet this may be noted, that in the Spanish tongue it is pronounced with a more vehement sound in some words than others. And hereof no certaine rule can be given, but only by marking and learning it by the common use of speaking. Yet this is plaine that in the beginning of every worde, it is pronounced more vehemently then in the middle or ende of the same. [*The Spanish Grammar*, 1590]

In Andalusia, *h* from Latin *f* was still pronounced in the late 16th century when *x* took the place of the former *š* or *šx*. Confusion of the sounds resulted.

H is pronounced today in parts of the Spanish-speaking world, but usually as the *jota* of that particular region.⁷

⁷ Cf. Espinosa, *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, par. 122. Espinosa lists these words, among others, as having the pronounciatio of *jota*: *jayar*, *jervir*, *juir*, *joyo*, *jigado*, *jalar*, *jurtar*, *jongo*, *jumo*. This writer describes this *j* as a pharyngeal aspirate, and speaks of the "Castilian" *j* as a voiced velar sound.

VI

LL AND Y

The pronunciation of **y** for the *ll* of old Castilian seems to be a rather late development in the so-called literary language, though the tendency to slight the *ll* must have been prevalent in some sections of the population very early, just as there must have been a tendency to pronounce **S** as **s** in certain sections of the population at the time when the Jews were expelled.

In the writings on Indian languages of Mexico, there is very little evidence of confusion of these sounds, and the subsequent loss of *ll*, until late in the Colonial Period.

The authors of the 16th century in the field of Mexican linguistics apparently never interchange the symbols *ll* and *y* in writing Nahuatl, though **y** exists in that language, and practically all of them explicitly state that the *ll* written in the Indian language is to be pronounced like Latin *ll*.

Borrowed terms containing *ll* usually become *l* or *ll* in the representations of the Indian pronunciation of these words.

Molina, from Southern Spain, after explaining that the *ll*, as written in Nahuatl, was not the *ll* of *marauilla*, *espinilla*,¹ reveals his Spanish pronounci-

¹ See above, p. 51.

ation of the digraph by writing *callente* in the vocabulary of 1571. He also gives the term *Caxtil* for “gallo, o gallina de castilla”, and *castillan xonacatl* (Spanish onion) is his definition for “ajo”.

The word *Castilla* was used a great deal to describe that which was Spanish, and usually retained an *l* sound on passing into the Indian languages.

There are the following transcriptions and remarks of our authors to be considered:

Arenas, *Vocabulario* (1611):

Ajos*caxtillan ajox*
 Lienço*caxtillan tilmahtli*
 Las bestias.....*mulatin* (o) *cahuayotin*
 Vn pollo*ce poyox*

Lorra Baquío, *Manual mexicano* (1634):

Caxtilteca
Caxtillantlaca [Spaniards]

Luz y guía de los ministros (1694):

Caxtilan tlaxcalli
Caxtilan vino

Pérez, *Arte* (1713):

. . . aca no se pronuncia vocablo alguno en todo el Idioma con *LL* . . . y aunque se halle escrita la *LL*. no se pronuncia sino como *L* . . . y los Indios que no son muy ladinos, para decir Llave, dicen *Yahue*.

Gilberti, *Arte* (1558):

Esta lengua carece de muchas syllabas . . .
 Lla. lle lli llo llu . . . y por lluvia dizen luuia, y por cauallo cauayo.

Córdoba, *Arte* (1578):

Como al cauallo que le llamauan luego luego,

pichina, porque dizen que parecia al Venado.
&. Y al asno, pella Castilla, porque dizque
parecia al conejo, y assi a los demas.

Córdoba, *Vocabulario* (1578) :

Agraz. Picholi yaha castilla.

Alfeñique. Nupichinite castilla.

Fruta de españa. Nocuana castilla.

Platano fruta. Pitohua castilla.

As has been stated (see above, p. 188), the Zapotecs of the region of Oaxaca often use the term **γera'stil** for "bread". The last part of this word presupposes a Spanish **S** and **ly** instead of **y** ; for these same natives in speaking Spanish, make no distinction between *ll* and *y* of the written language, and say **kastíya**.

The *ll* (**ly**) of Castilian, along with **S**, **š**, and **h**, came to Mexico, but was lost in the general tendencies of *relajamiento* of Spanish origin.

VII

TRENDS OF SPANISH PRONUNCIATION IN MEXICO

Apparently the pronunciation of Spanish in Mexico has followed developments in the Castilian of the region of Seville, as much as any particular section of Spain. During the first years of the colonization, the pronunciation of the latter region seems to have been very similar to that of New Castile, with distinctions made in the speech of most people between *ç* and *z*, which were **s** and **z**; and with a distinction between this set of sibilants and the *s* (**S** or **Z**). The indications are that *x* and *j* were approximately **š** and **ž** in the South of Spain, and that *b* and *v* represented distinct sounds as did *ll* and *y*. *H* was an aspirate.

Changes in the pronunciation in the North of Spain were evidently felt in America if they were completed in Andalusia and Extremadura.

The only suggestions that the **Θ** might have been pronounced for a time in Mexico City, come from Carochi (1645) and Tapia Zenteno (1753), and there is no evidence that there was ever a **SeSeo** in Mexico. The Southern Spanish tendency to avoid the pronunciation of Spanish **S** was the one felt in New Spain. This was not the native tendency, for the Indians were wont to convert Spanish **S** into the

š that was, and is, to be found in most of the native languages. The sibilant heard in the Spanish of Mexico is the *ç* of Old Castilian, a sound that Sevillanos began to substitute for **S** during the 16th century.

The development of **š** to **X**, we are inclined to believe, was taking place in Northern Castile before 1500, and by means of a transitional articulation of two sets of vibrations: a prepalatal sibilant and a velar or uvular fricative, with a tendency to slight the first element except in the preconsonantal position. The change in Andalusia was rather rapid and followed the loss of **S** which was closely related to the prepalatal element. With the laxness of tension in articulation characteristic of that region, the guttural sound of the North became **x** or even **h**, a sound that varies more with the following vowel than does that of the Castiles. This treatment of *x* was essentially that accorded the sound in Mexico. This is not a native tendency, since the Indians in many regions still pronounce original Spanish *x* as **š** in borrowed words.

We are to look for the origin of **y** for *ll* in Spain, since although the Indians had difficulty in pronouncing *ll* of Spanish, they had the tendency to convert the sound into **l** except before the vowel **o**. The fact that this **l** still is heard in words borrowed from Spanish, is indicative of a general pronunciation of *ll* in early colonial times. And we are to attribute this, just as the **s** for **S**, to a region of Spain where the pronunciation of **y** for *ll* is prevalent, a region

that supplied a very large part of the colonists, especially after the first conquests were made.¹ *Ll* is still general in the North of Spain, although it is probably losing ground. It was general in Mexico for a century or so after the Conquest. The substitution of *y* for *ll* is, therefore, another manifestation of Southern-Spanish "relajo".

Further developments in Andalusian Castilian, such as the aspiration of final and preconsonantal *s*, have not been felt to a great extent on the highlands of Mexico. The speech of the plateau may be said to have become fixed in the late seventeenth century.

¹ Henríquez Ureña gives as one of the items of his report on the origin of the American colonists, the compilations of Luis Rubio y Moreno, *Pasajeros a Indias*, in the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano América, VIII*. In this list of names, practically all of the Colonial Period is considered, beginning with 1534 and ending with 1790. The Spaniards from the South constitute a much larger element than those from the North. And there were a good many bi-lingual people from the North, especially Basques and Gallegos, who would eventually follow the "corriente" of the masses in America. Cf. *Observaciones sobre el español en América*, (III), *Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII, 1931, pp. 120-148.

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